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## THE RECHERLA FAMILY.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS.) M. R. A. S.

### I.

This family plays a very important part in the history of the Kākatiyas of Warangal, who flourished from the middle of the eleventh century to about 1326 A.D. One prominent feature of Kākatiya rule was their patronage of a number of warrior families. This royal patronage was fully justified in the case of this family, several members of which saved the Kākatiya dominion from imminent destruction and achieved many glorious feats on behalf of their sovereigns. The history of the Rēcherla family is comparatively obscure and very little is known about its earlier members. All the inscriptions of this family are found in the Hyderabad State. Such of them as could be obtained have been included in an Appendix at the end, and an attempt is made in this article to evolve a history of this family, based on them :—

### Geneology.

Besides the inscriptions included in the Appendix, the Palampet inscription of the time of Gaṇapati also throws much light on the geneology of the Rēcherla family. No. 1 of Appendix gives the following pedigree.

Bamma

x

x

x

Muccha

|

Kāṭa

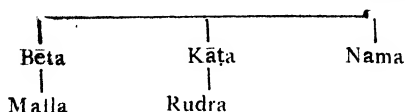
|

Kāma = Kāchāmba

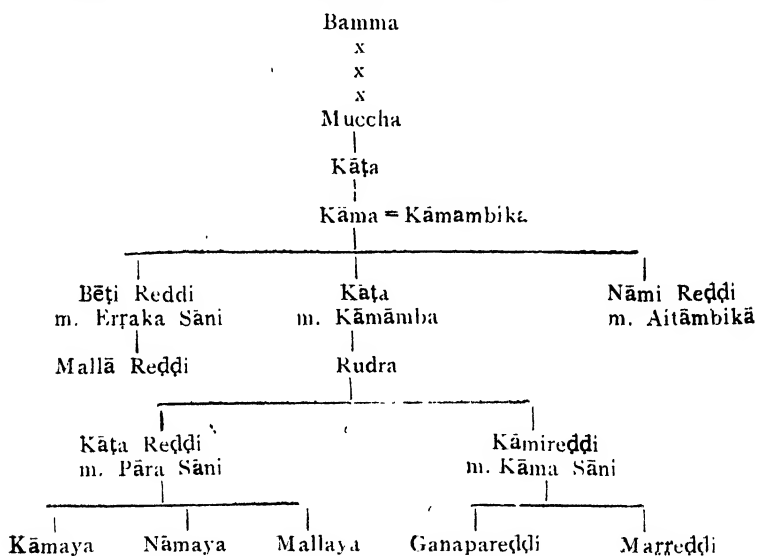
No. 5 makes Bēta, the son of Kāma. According to the Palampet record Kāma had another son Kāṭa, whose son was Rudra. No. 2. men-



tions Nāmi Redḍi, the son of Kāma and Kāchāmba. No. 6 reveals to us Mallā Redḍi, the son of Beta. The descendants of Kāma may be thus stated.



Nos. 8 and 9 mention that Nami Redḍi's wife was Aitāmba and that he had two sons called Kāta and Kāma. According to No. 10, Gaṇapa Redḍi and Marredḍi were the sons of Kāma, while No. 11 mentions that Kāmaya, Nāmaya and Mallaya were the sons of Kāṭareḍḍi. Thus, from the inscriptions mentioned, the following geneology of the Rēcherla family is obtained.



It is important to note in this connection a point of dispute in the above geneology. Messrs. Seshādrī Ramaṇa Kavulu\* dispute the identity of the pedigree of Rudrasēnāni of the Palampet inscription with that of Nami Redḍi.<sup>1</sup> The basis of their argument is the absence of Muccha in the geneology of Rudra's record. Secondly, they argue that since we do not know of a brother of Nāmi Redḍi, known by the name of Kāṭa. This Kāṭa who was the father of Rudra of the Palampet record, cannot be called a son of Kāma Redḍi the fourth member of the Rēcherla family. With regard to the first argument, there seem to be more reasons

\*They are two Telugu poets reputed for their zeal for historical research: Mr. Seshadri Achārya and Mr Venkataramana Acharya.—Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Sujāta III. pt. vi p. 402—408

for the identification of the two pedigrees in question, rather than against it. It is no serious mistake if an ancestor of the fourth or fifth degree is omitted. Most of the Kākatiya records, for example, begin the genealogy of that dynasty from Bēṭa and ignore Prōḷa I. altogether.<sup>2</sup> A number of records of the Pallavas and Telugu Chōḍas omit several names in their genealogies. Further the most important point in favour of the identity of the two ancestries is the unanimity in both of the mention of the feats of the first ancestor. The Poets contend that the first ancestor of Rudra's pedigree was Bamma while Bhima was the Founder of Nāmi Redḍi's family. I personally examined the original estampage of the inscription No. 1 of Appendix and my reading of the name is *Bamma* and not *Bhīma*. Both the Palampet and the Pillalamarri records are agreed in stating that Bamma carried away the door of Kāñchīpura.

“.....*Bammā* = *bhidāno* = *bhavat* | *yah Kāñchī-*  
*Nagarī-kavāta-haranam kṛtvā prachand = āhava-kṛdus-Chōḍa-na*  
*rādhīpasya kṛtavān mānadrumo = unṛtanam*”

(No. 1 of Appendix, ll. 11—13)

“.....*ākhi-*  
*pya yō yavanikā-saḍṛiṣam kavāṭam* |  
*Kāñchī-purasya samapādayaḍ-āsu Vira-*  
*laksmī-vivāham-iha Kākati-vallabhasya*||

(Palampet Inscription ll. 35—38)

The second argument in the contention is weaker still. That Kāṭa is not mentioned elsewhere as the son of Kāma and Kāmāmbikā and as brother of Nāmireḍḍi and Bētireḍḍi is no reason why he should not be treated as such on the basis of the Palampet record. Now, where is it stated that Bētireḍḍi had a brother by name Nāmireḍḍi? The only basis for evolving that relation between them is the identity of the names of the parents of both.<sup>3</sup>

Hence, it may be concluded that the Pillalamarri and the Palampet records are two very important and at the same time complimentary sources of information about the Recherla family.

### History of the family.

It has already been mentioned that Bamma was the founder of this family. He is said to have been born in a family, born of the feet of *Padmaja* or *Brahma* the creator, evidently of the fourth caste. The

<sup>2</sup> Only the Motupalli Pillar inscription of Ganapati mentions him. (Vide *Ep. Ind.* vol. XII.)

<sup>3</sup> No. 5 of Appendix I.  
Kama m. Kachamba

No. 2 of Appendix I.  
Kama m. Kachamba

word "Padmaja" lends colour to the idea that Rēcherla family belonged to the Padmanāyaka community. While No 1 of Appendix mentions that he defeated a Chōḍa king and carried away as a trophy of war the doors of Kāñchī, the Palampet record says that he achieved this victory for his Suzerain, the Kākatiya king. It is impossible to say who this Chōḍa king was and in what year he was defeated by Bamma. But the statement of the Palampet record raises very important issues connected with the Kākatiyas. It is mentioned in that record that Kāma or Kāmachamūpati, the grandfather of Rudra was an important lieutenant of Kākati Prōla. Between this Kāmachamūpati and Bamma, there were two generations and so there must have been an interval of about three-fourths of a century. Kākati Prōla ruled between A.D. 1090 and 1160 and his father Bēta, 1090-1060. Kāṭa also might have been a contemporary of Prōla who had a very long reign. Bēta's contemporary then should have been Muccha. Then Bamma will have to be placed in the first or second quarter of the eleventh century. Generally, most Kākatiya records begin their geneology with Bēta who might have risen to political power about A.D. 1050-1060. Who then was the Kākatiya king that was the contemporary of Bamma of the Rēcherla family in the second quarter of the eleventh century? Happily the Mōṭupalli pillar inscription of Ganapati<sup>4</sup> comes to our rescue. In that, a Prōla is mentioned before Bēta and may for convenience be called Prōla I. It must be under him that Bamma flourished and achieved the glorious feat at Kāñchī. The identity of this Prōla I. is also supported by Mr. J. Rāmayya Pantulu.<sup>5</sup> Bēta is known to have been ruling the Sabbi 1,000 district, as a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI. The question now arises whether his father Prōla I also ruled over that part and if so how a petty chieftain from near Anumakonḍa in the North-east, came into conflict with the distant Chōḍa king of Kāñchī?

Muccha, the second known member of the Rēcherla family seems to have had no extraordinary achievements to his credit and so does his son Kāṭa. Kāṭa's son Kāma or Kāmachamūpati seems to have been very famous in the time of Kākati Prōla. The Palampet record credits him with having slain Manthanya Guṇḍa. This latter chieftain is also referred to in the Anumakonḍa inscription of Rudra.<sup>6</sup> It is said therein that Rudra had Guṇḍa shaved and branded on the chest with the crest of the boar and that he never came to the field of war in spite of Rudra's challenges. Perhaps the statement of the Palampet inscription relates the sequel of

4 *Ep. Ind. XII* p. 248.

5 Above vol. IV, pts iii and iv "The Malkapuram Inscription of Rudradeva.

6 *Ind. Ant. vol. XI*. Dr. Hultzsch identifies Manthana with a village of that name in the Nuzvid Zamindari of the Krishna district. But it is more reasonable to identify it with Manthana on the Godavary in the Nizam's Dominions to be consistent with the Evolution of the Kakatiya Empire.

this fight, which was the death of Guṇḍa at the hands of Kāmachamūpati. This general of Prōla, married Kāmāmba.

Bēta, one of the sons of Kāma was very important during the time of Kākati Rudra, the son of Prōla. No. 7 of Appendix mentions a number of titles borne by Bēta. The expression *Āmananganti-puravarṣvara* occurring among them and found also in the records of his successors, indicates, perhaps, that the headquarters of the Rēcherla family was Āmanagallu, which is within fifteen miles from Anumakoṇḍa. Erakasāni was the wife of Bētireddi. No. 4 of Appendix belonging to Namireddi and dated Ś. Ś. 1117 (A.D. 1195) mentions no titles of his, while No. 3 of Appendix which also belongs to him and dated Ś. Ś. 1124 (A.D. 1202) does so. That means that the hereditary titles must have been transferred to Nāmireddi at some time between Ś. Ś. 1195 and 1202, probably owing to the death of his elder brother, (as the titles themselves indicate) Bētireddi. Since Bētireddi was the first, as far as it is known, to bear these titles, he must have been a very useful and active general of Kākati Rudra. Rudra is said to have been killed in a war with the Yāḍava king Jaitugi about A.D. 1195. Bētireddi might have suffered the same fate. Or more probably he accompanied Mahādēva, the brother and successor of Kākati Rudra, to the battlefield and was slain by the Yādavas along with the new sovereign. Bētireddi's wife Erakasāni made many charities to the Pillalmarri temple.

Nāmireddi was also patronised by Kākati Rudra and flourished in his reign, in that of Mahādēva and in the early part of Gaṇapati's reign. He was more pious than valorous and was old during the reign of Gaṇapati when great confusion prevailed in the Kākatiya kingdom after the death of Kākati Rudra I. (*vide* the Palampet record), and many rival chieftains invaded the country, and when Rudrasēnāni and others were busy repelling these enemies; Nāmireddi was not seen in the thick of the fight but was founding temples and making gifts to them. His latest known date is A.D. 1202, and probably he died very soon after that.

Of the members of the *sixth* generation of the Rēcherla family, Rudra or Rudrasēnāni seem to be the most important. He was the greatest member of his family and was one of the mainstays of the empire of Gaṇapati, the son and successor of Mahādēva and the nephew of Kākati Rudra. According to the Palampet inscription "when Rudra (the Kākatiya king) went to heaven, many enemies tried to conquer his territory". Then the general Rudra rose equal to the occasion and by defeating Nāgati-bhūpāla, who fled from the field, he drove away all the invaders and thus

"by removing the thorns that lay in the way of the feet of the Kākatiya king, restofed it on to a firm basis". As a reward, his sovereign gave him "a throne and the paraphernalia of a *Māṇḍalika*". These exploits of Rudra must have taken place between A. D. 1199 and 1209, during which period Gaṇapati was a captive at the Yādava court of Dēvagiri. Rudra was thus the first "Restorer of the Kākatiya king." He occupied such a prominent place in the kingdom that he was described as having "borne with success, the burden of the Kākatiya realm".<sup>2</sup> (*Kākati-rājya-bhāra-ṭhaure-jumḍu*). He took a leading part in the various campaigns of Gaṇapati. Thus Rājeya Nāyaka, one of the subordinates of Rudra killed hordes of warriors at Bokkera, which place Dr. Barnett identifies with the Bokkara of the Ganjām District; worshipped the feet of Dākṣārāma Bhīmēśvara and captured Udayagiri, in the Nellore District. This shows that both the generals and his subordinates were present in Gaṇapati's invasions of Kalinga, Velanaṇḍu and Nellore. Besides, this magnificent martial glory, the name of Rēcherla Rudra is also associated with a number of pious and benevolent activities. The Uparpalle Inscription mentions that he consecrated god Rudrēśvara at Ūrugallu, the Kākatiya capital and gave the village of Nekkoṇḍa as a gift; and constructed a great city in which he constructed another temple to Rudrēśvara and granted the villages of Uparpalle and Borlapalle to the god in S.S. 1135 (A. D. 1213.)

It is not known if the general Rudra had any children as is the case with Mallāreḍḍi, son of Bētireḍḍi. So the *seventh* generation of the Rēcherla family was continued to the grandchildren of Nāmireḍḍi. Inscriptions show that these lived in the reign of Gaṇapati the and latest obtainable date of the Rēcherla family is S. 1180 or A. D. 1258 towards the close of Gaṇapati's reign.

## II.

We have thus far traced the history of the Rēcherla family from inscriptions. This family has been mentioned to have flourished under the Kākatiya sovereigns up to the end of Gaṇapati's reign. There was another family of the same name which played a prominent part in the history of the Telugu Country during the 14th and 15th centuries. This later Rēcherla family rose to power immediately after the fall of Pratāpa Rudra of Warangal, occupied the Northern and North-eastern parts of the Kākatiya Empire and ruled as an independent power. It is necessary in this connection to note one important difference between the *two* Rēcherla families. The word "*Rēcherla*" appearing differently as "*Recheruwula*," "*Rēcherumala*," "*Recherruḷa*" and "*Rēsarla*" stands as a surname with

egard to the earlier family. In the case of the latter, however, it indicates the name of a *gotra* adopted by a ruling family.<sup>9</sup> The fact, that the same word indicates a surname in one and the name of a *gotra* in another, seems curious and it is not possible to explain this anomaly.

Several people, notably the authors of the "*Velugotivāri vamsāvali*", a traditional history of the modern rulers of Venkatagiri, have failed to realise this subtle difference. They have concluded that both the earlier and later families were connected and attempted to evolve a comprehensive geneology. The book states that the founder of the Recherla family was a certain Bēṭireḍḍi alias Chevvireḍḍi and identifies him with Bēṭireḍḍi, son of Kāmachamūpati. This is against all facts of history. The founder of the earlier family was Bamma and not Bēṭireḍḍi as shown in the preceding pages. Nor can Bēṭireḍḍi be considered to have originated the later family because he had a son called Mallāreḍḍi, whose name neither tallies with that of any of the members of the second generation given in the "*History of the Venkatagiri Chiefs*, nor does Mallā Redḍi figure in it.<sup>10</sup> The history identifies Bēṭireḍḍi with Brahmanāyaḍu the hero of the Palnāḍu War. The following facts are thus clear about Bēṭireḍḍi:—

1. That he founded the Recherla family.
2. That he played a prominent part in the Palnāḍ war.
3. That he was patronised by Gaṇapati.

The first conclusion has already been shown to be wrong. Nor does it seem possible to admit the identity of Bēṭireḍḍi and Brahmanāyaḍu. From the "*Palnāḍi Vira Charitram*" we know that Brahmanāyaḍu was the son of Doḍḍanāyaḍu and that his only son was Bālanāyaḍu (Balachandruḍu) who died in the war. The following shows the absurdity of the second conclusion.

9 Recherla-gōtram teshvēkam Kākatiya-nripārchitam (*The Ainavolu Ins.*)  
 Recherla-vamsōd-bhava-varya (*The Rachakonda Ins. of Anapota*)  
 Recherla-vamsa-dugdhā-bdhi sudhā-karundaina Sri Mādhavendrumḍu  
 (*Ummahawer Ins of Madanayaka*)

10 The following are the members of the Recherla family figuring in the History of the Venkatagiri Chiefs:—

I generation	Bēṭi Redḍi alias Bēṭālanāyaḍu	
II generation	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">           { Damanayaḍu            Prasadadityanayaḍu            Rudramanayaḍu         </div>	} Flourished in the reign of Rudramba
III generation	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">           { Vennamanayaḍu            Sabbinaayaḍu         </div>	
IV generation	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">           { Yerradāchanayaḍu            Nalladāchanayaḍu            Singamanayaḍu         </div>	} Flourished in the reign of Prataparudra
V generation	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">           { Vennamanayaḍu            Yachanamayaḍu         </div>	

Dodda Nāyaḍu

Brahma Nāyaḍu

Bala Nāyaḍu

Bēti Redḍi

Prasādāditya Nāyaḍu.

Rudra Nayaḍu

The third conclusion of the history is suggestive. It is said that the original name of Bēti redḍi was changed into Bēṭaṇayaka and that Bēṭa's successors continued to be called Nāyakas. This statement has a great significance and furnishes the clue to a possible origin of Bēti redḍi's family. Brahmanāyaḍu of the Palnāḍ War was the protagonist of a great communal fusion. It is said that he gathered many members from various communities and formed a new cosmopolitan one. This new community, which branched off from the Redḍis, came to be called the *Padmanāyakas*. The fact of Bēti redḍi becoming Bēṭaṇayaka and his successors calling themselves by the term "Nayaka" which is distinctively a *Padmanāyaka* name-ending, indicates perhaps that Bēti redḍi and his family were converts to the new community. The Palnāḍ War seems to have taken place about A.D. 1176-1181. So the rise of this Padmanāyaka family must be dated about A. D. 1180, when Brahma Nāyaḍu was busy getting converts.

The Rēcherla family of the Pillalamarri inscription was also flourishing at this time. Its members had their names ending in 'Redḍi'. They are known, from inscriptions, to have continued till the end of Gaṇapati's reign. The family of Bēti redḍi alias Bēṭaṇayaka was bearing names ending in Nāyakas. They only rose about the year A. D. 1180. They were also Kākatiya subordinates and their first member Bēṭa is said to have been patronised by Gaṇapati. This later family cannot be said to have been ruling at Pillalamarri as the "*History of the Venkatagiri Chiefs*" states, because the family of Bammāsēnāni was already established there and continued to be there till almost the close of Gaṇapati's reign. Under these circumstances, it will not be far wrong to suppose that one of the several families that was merged into the *Padmanāyaka* community soon after the Palnāḍu war, rose to fame under Bēṭaṇa Nāyaka and became Kākatiya subordinates. That no information is forthcoming about the Pillalamarri family after Gaṇapati's reign indicates perhaps that the family lost its prominence and was displaced by the later *Padmanāyaka* family which settled about Rājakoṇḍa in the Nizām's Dominions.

From the accounts of the *History of Venkatagiri chiefs*, however inconsistent, it might be, Prasādāditya, son of Bēṭaṇa Nāyaka appears to have been the real founder of the greatness of his family. The "*Rāvu Vamṣīya charitram*" also gives some information about this chieftain. According to one account he received great honours from Rudraḍēva, having repelled a powerful enemy who besieged Warangal; while according to another, the honour was done to him by Gaṇapati. Since we continue

to hear of the Pillalamarri family till about A. D. 1250. We may approximately date the rise of Bētāla Nāyakā about that time. In that case Prasādāditya will have to be placed after Gaṇapati's reign. Rudra, his sovereign would then be Rudrāmba. Hence, we might state that Prasādāditya and his brother Rudrama Nāyaḍu, both members of the *second* generation, flourished under Rudrāmba. Immediately after the Queen's accession there was trouble in the kingdom owing to foreign invasions and internal rebellions. While the Kāyasthas rebelled in the Gandlikōṭa region, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri invaded from the North and according to tradition, besieged the capital : perhaps it was on this occasion that Prasādāditya drove away the enemy, whom the other *seventy six* Padmanāyaka families dreaded. Rudramanāyaka also was very famous. He is said to have had the title "*Kākatirājya-pratiṣṭhāpanāchārya*".

The members of the *fourth* and *fifth* generations became very famous during the reign of Pratāpa Rudra. Eṣṣa Dāchā Nāyaḍu seems to have been very famous. He accompanied Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the generalissimo of Pratāpa Rudra, in the invasion of Kāñchi. Dācha is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāṇḍyas, taken their elephants and treasures, including a gem as big as one's palm. Pleased with this achievement of the general, Pratāpa Rudra confirmed on him the titles. "*Pañcha-Pāṇḍya-dala-viphāla*" and "*Kāñchi-kavāta-chūra-kāra*". So for the history of this *Padmanāyaka* family has been evolved by taking stray and conflicting facts of the *History of Venkatagiri Chiefs* and reconciling them with the history of the Kākatīyas.

With Singama Nāyaka of the *fifth* generation, we are on firmer ground. This Singama Nāyaka the grandfather of Anapōti Nāyaka I. seems to have proclaimed independence immediately after the fall of Pratāpa Rudra of Warangal in 1323. Evidently he was a general in the services of the last Kākatīya monarch and was one of the several other Kākatīya generals and officials who rose to power after the fall of Warangal. (Cf. Prōlaya Vēmā Reddi and Hukka and Bukka). The Singama Nāyaka mentioned above, played a prominent part in the reign of Pratāpa Rudra. He is mentioned in a Canarese manuscript dealing with the history of the Kampili kingdom." The story runs thus:—

Kumāra Rāma, the Prince of Kampili, puffed up with pride owing to his victorious compigns, harassed the Hoysala borders and challenged the Hoysala king to battle. He came to Warangal and requested Vīra Rudra to aid him in his campaigns. Rudra refused help and thereon, the insolent prince assumed titles offensive to the Kākatīya monarch. Rudra sent his forces on Kampili and a fight ensued, in which the Kākatīyas were defeated. Singama is mentioned to have lead the Telugu forces in that war.

• But the story seems to have been exaggerated towards the end. It is said that after the close of the war, Rāmanātha ceded several horses to



Singama and made many presents to him. This usual fact of a victor giving presents to the vanquished shows clearly, that the success of the battle was not that of Kampili. Nothing more is known about Singama as a Kākatiya general. He must have played a prominent part the deadly struggles against the Mahommedans, during the reign of Pratapa Rudra. When that monarch fell, he proclaimed himself independent master of the Rājkonḍa region and thus founded the later Rēcherla family.

#### Conclusion.

Thus a family of valiant generals bearing the surname "Rēcherla" were serving under the Kākatiyas from the earliest times. They made many glorious conquests for their sovereigns and saved the empire during critical times. This family seems to have gone into obscurity after the death of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. They were evidency members of the Reḍḍi community. No more reliable evidence is available about the Rēcherla family till the reign of Pratāpa Rudra. In his reign, a Singama Nāyaka figures but he belongs to a different Rēcherla family which bore the *gōtra* called Rēcherla. These later were evidently Velamas of the *Padmanāyaka* community. The earlier family mention nothing more about their community, beyond stating that they were born from the feet of *Padmaja* or Brahma. The names of several members of the family ending in "Reḍḍi" in contradistinction to the "Nāyaka" of the later family, seem to be suggestive and perhaps show their Reḍḍi connection. What sort of relation exists between the two families and why the word "Rēcherla" happened to be the name of one family and name of the *Gōtra* to another, it is difficult to determine. The data given in the history of the Venkatagiri Chieftains with regard to their early ancestry is most unreliable and confusingly wrong. Unless future researches bring to light reliable and strong evidences to prove the identity of the earlier and later families, they must be considered as distinctly separate. It must be proved that the names of the early ancestors of Singama were identical with the descendants of the *Seventh* generation of the earlier family. Even then the difference in the name endings of the two families remains to be explained. Till then the family of Bamma may be called the earlier and that of Singama Nāyaka, the later Rēcherla families.

#### APPENDIX.

The *twelve* inscriptions included in this Appendix are all from the Nizams Dominions. I have given here my own readings of the inscriptions, the original estampages of which are preserved in the archives of the *Hyderabad Historical Society*. They are of much value to the history of the Kākatiyas and are mostly unknown: I am very grateful to the *Hyderabad Historical Society* for having permitted me to publish these important records. I have only taken the liberty of omitting such parts of the records that contain enumerations of the details of grants. I give below an abstract of contents of these inscriptions.

## Abstract of Contents.

No. 1. From the feet of Brahma came a family in which was born a king called Bamma who carried away the door of Kāñchī and uprooted the tree of honour of the Chōḍa King. (l. 10—13)

In that family was born Muccha known all over the universe for his glory. (l. 18—19)

His son was Kāṭa who married Kāchāmbikā.

No. 2. Nāma was well known for his charities. His wife was Aitama and his parents Kāmaya and Kāchambā. He received his glory and power from king Ganapati.

No. 3. Rēcherumala Nāmi Redḍi consecrated Namēśvaradēva at Pillalamarri and made many gifts to the god in S. 1124, on Saturday the 14th day of the bright half of the month of *Chaitra* in the cyclic year *Dandubhi*. His wife Aitama also gave gifts to the god.

No. 4. While Rudradēva was ruling the kingdom, Nāma who got his wealth by the grace of that monarch, instituted at Pillalamarri three "lingas" known after the name of his parents and of himself and gave gifts of land to the gods in S. S. 1117, on Sunday the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of *Vaiśākha* the cyclic year *Rākshasa*.

No. 5. From the feet of Brahma came a family in which was born Bamma who was famed for his charities and martial valour. In that line came Muccha and his son was Kāṭa. His son was Kāma whose wife Kācha. Their son was Bēta, a devotee of the feet of Mahādēva and his wife was Erakka.

No. 6. Erakka was the ideal of charity and chastity. His son was Malla, equally skilled at learning and arms. In the Saka year counted by Sky, Rama, Moon and Earth, on Monday the eleventh day of the bright half of *Jyēṣṭha* of the cyclic year *Vibhava*, she instituted god Erakēśvara at Pillalamarri and made many gifts.

No. 7. Registers gifts of Erakasāni wife of Rēcherla Bēti Redḍi, to Erakēśvara whom she had instituted; the record bears the date S. 1130.

No. 8. Registers that during the reign of Kākati Ganapatidēva Mahārāja, Māṇḍalika Rēcherla Katredḍi son of Aitāmbikā instituted Nāmēśvara, Aiteśvara and Kāteśvara after the names of his parents and of himself and gave them gifts in S. 1156, on a Thursday the thirteenth of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in the cyclic year *Jaya*.

No. 9. Registers a gifts by Rēcherla Kāmi Redḍi son of Aitāmbikā, in S. 1180.

No. 10. Registers gift of Ganapa Reddi and Marreddi in the cyclic year *Raktākṣi* for the merits of their mother Kāmasāni, father Kāmi Reddi and of themselves.

No. 11. Registers the joint gift of Kāmaya, Nāmaya and Mallaya for the merits of their parents Kātreddi and Pāra Sāni and of themselves. They also made individual gifts to the gods at Pillalmari.

No. 12. Registers a gifts for merits of Kākatiya Ganapatideva and Rēcheṭṭula Rudra Redḍi.

### TEXTS.

#### I. Pillalmari.

- 1 శ్రీమత్సురేంద్ర దైత్యేంద్ర మునీంద్ర గణపదీతం । సర్వసం
- 2 పత్రపదం వందే శంభో పాదాంబుజద్వయం ॥ శంభోక్ష్మం
- 3 భరిజంభయద్గణముదం సంధ్యాంధకారం మనత్సర్వాస్సుష్టు
- 4 నువర్వవర్వత రు చీన్మూర్వాణ మురీధరాక । భూషాభూ
- 5 తభుజంగపుంగవ ఘనప్రోల్లాస పుల్లత్ఫణారతోద్వద్య
- 6 తిపుంజరంజిత సభోతిజ్మండలం తాండవం ॥ పత్రంపుష్పంసలి
- 7 మధవాయత్పణాం భోజయుగ్మే భక్త్యాదత్తైత రతిపురుషో
- 8 భూరిసంసారదుఃఖం । సర్వోత్పత్తిస్థితివిభవైక స్సర్వలోకైక
- 9 వంద్యస్సర్వాత్మావస్సభవతుముదే సర్వదాపార్యతీకః ॥
- 10 శ్రీమత్పద్మజపాదయగ్మయగళా ల్లోకత్రయాభ్యర్చితాదుదూ
- 11 తే విపులేకులేనరవరోబహ్మభిదానోభవత్ । యఃకాంచీ
- 12 సగరికవాలహరణం కృత్వాప్రచండహవక్రీడశోడన
- 13 రాధివస్యకృతవాన్మానద్రుమోష్ఠీలనం ॥ రైలానాం కుంగ
- 14 శృంగవృతరమురుదృవద్వర్గదుర్గంగుహాఘం శ్రోజో
- 15 దూతప్రవృత్తాత్ఫణఘణి నికరస్సారపూతూరఘా
- 16 రం । కాంతారం తారకంతారివ వరముఖరం దీప్తదావా
- 17 గ్నియుక్తం యద్భీతాస్త్యక్తయుద్ధాః పర సరపతయ
- 18 స్సంధ్రమేణాశ్రయంతః । ముచ్చస్సముచితగుణః
- 19 ఖలు తక్మూలేభూద్విశ్వంభ రావలయ విశ్రుతపుణ్యకీర్తిః ।
- 20 ఆవద్గతార్తిహరణే చ మహారణే చ లోకాంతరే వితరణే
- 21 చ సదాపటర్యః ॥ విద్యుద్వారస్ఫులింగ ప్రకరిపరిగత
- 22 ప్రావృదాకాశదేశే ప్రోద్దామద్ధోమధూమ ప్రవితత వి
- 23 తతాకాలకాలాంబుద్రీః । యత్సేనాభిస్సమిద్ధస్సరభ (To be continued)

## BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES IN THE EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT,

PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.

\* • The following are the list of villages in the East Godāvāri District, where Buddhist Antiquities can be discovered.

"TIMMĀPURAM : SEWELL: *List of Copper Plates* (Antiquarian Remains, vol. II., *Impl. Series*, n. viii), 1884. *Errata and Addenda*, p. 262.

1. "PITṬĀPURAM.—Sir Walter Elliot publishes (*Ind. Ant.* XII, 34) "a note with a page of illustrations on a number of Buddhist relic-caskets "found in a mound of "large bricks," a *stūpa* in fact, at a place called " "*Timmavaram*" in the Pittāpuram Zemindari. These were discovered in " 1848 by the workmen of the Rāja, who were digging for bricks for a "building in course of construction. Each stone casket contained a crystal "casket, and in each crystal casket was a splinter of some precious stone—"ruby, emerald, or the like,—a small pearl, a bit of coral, and a piece "of gold leaf. These were all sent to the Madras Central Museum. So "far as I have been able to ascertain, the contents of the caskets have "all disappeared, and of the crystal caskets only two portions remain, "which have been erroneously supposed to have come from Amarāvati. "The stone caskets are still in the Museum."

But where is Timmāvaram? There are *three* Timmāpurams in the Gōdāvāri District. Certainly, it is not the big town of the Yellavaram division. There is a Timmāpuram two miles north of Viravaram (Peddāpuram taluk) and a second Timmāpuram, a zamindari village in the Cocanāda taluk; but no Timmāvaram in the Piṭṭhāpuram zamindari.\* Wherever it is, it would be necessary to excavate the Timmāvaram *Stūpa*.

2. KOḌAVALI.—(Piṭṭhapuram Division) *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending with 31st March 1923: page 3.

"They also examined in site the Āndhra inscription at Koḍavali, "near Piṭṭhapuram in the Godavari District belonging to king Vāsisthīputra "Chāḍasāta and took fresh copies of the record for the use of the Govern- "ment Epigraphist. On a thorough examination of the hill on which this "inscription is engraved on a wall, the Government Epigraphist has come

\* • The village of Timmāpuram in the Piṭṭhapuram Zamindari, which has been referred to as Timmavaram, by the learned Professor, is the same as the Timmapuram in the Cocanada taluk. Ed.

"to the conclusion that there are ruins of a *stāpa* here, which have not hitherto been noticed. The spot appears worthy of excavation and investigation."

But I think that the Koḍavali *stāpa* has been forgotten from 1923 up to now.

3. TĀLLURU. (2 miles West-north-west of Tuni) *Godāvari Gazetteer* page 256 :

"A cave in a hill contains the Image of "Talupulamma". Perhaps it is a cavern, probably a Buddhist rock-cut temple."

4. TĒTAGUNTA. (7½ miles South-West of Tuni). *Godavari Gazetteer* page 256 :

"A hill there called the Pārṇasāla Koṇḍa is supposed to have been inhabited by the Pāṇḍava brothers. It contains a large cave about a hundred yards in length and consisting of two compartments." The place must be visited.

5. KOTTAPALLI. (9 miles S. West of Tuni) *Godavari Gazetteer* page 256.

"There is a mound by the road side near the village which is known as the tomb of one Māla Buccamma".

Buddha dressed as a monk is perhaps now called a *Māla* Woman (Pañch)

6. NĒLAKŌTĀ ĀVA.

"It is a small village situated in the Chōḍavaram Division, near the bank of the Gōḍāvari, facing Polavaram and south of Purushotta-patnam. They said that it existed here a stupa with inscriptions.

See : *Report on Epigraphy* G. O., Madras, 6th Sept 1918 page 10 and G. O., Madras, 31st August 1920.

7. TĀLLŪRU. (11 miles North West of Peddāpuram) 2 miles West of Jaggaripēṭa. There is a mound now known as *Lingala dibba* (Mound of Phallic Stones) See Sewell lists vol. I page 23 and *Godavari Gazetteer* page 225)

The name seems to be "*Lañja dibba*" and where is mound the mound is perhaps a *stāpa*.

8. PEDDĀPURAM.—(Head-quarters of the taluk) From *Gōḍāvari Gazetteer*, page 224.

"A hill in the neighbourhood called the *Fāṇḍavulumetta*. (The "Pandavas' hill) contains a cave which is supposed to be the mouth of an underground passage leading to Rajahmundry. It is popularly supposed that the Pāṇḍavas used to haunt this hillock."

9. KÖRUKONDA.—*J.A.H.R.S.* vol. III. p. 2, 3 and 4 page 88.  
From Mr. Bhavaraj V. Krishnarao.

"A path from the caves leads us to the summit of the hill where  
"there are remains of a big chaitya built of brick. This place, too,"  
"deserves excavation."

There can be found marbles around the base of the stūpa similar  
those at Ramireddipalli (see *J.A.H.R.S.* vol. 3, p. 1 p. 58).

10. YARRAMPÄLEM.—*J.A.H.R.S.* vol. III. p. 2, 3 and 4 page 16.  
Mr. Bhavaraj V. Krishnarao.

"I shall...try to give a brief and yet a detailed account of the  
"antiquities found on the hill for the information of those that are interested  
"in general and the Government Archl. Department in particular, so that  
"the latter may make further investigations and unearth something really  
"important from the point of view of the historian and the archaeologist."

11. KOTTAPALLI (four miles from Gōkavaram) Mr. Bhavaraj  
V. Krishnarao *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. III. Parts. 2, 3, & 4, page 88.

"I did not go and see Kottapalli monastery, where I am told  
"there are small figures and statues as well as some paintings. Until I  
"see them I cannot say whether my information is true".

12. GANGAMPÄLEM (24 mile north by west of Peddāpuram).  
Peddapuram Taluk Sewell *List of Antiquities* vol I page 22.

"A village amongst the hills (Gungunmapālem) there is a cave  
"temple here said to contain an image of Virabhadra. Near it is a  
"maṇḍapam and a well. Beyond this I have no particulars."

"A village named Gangampālem is situated only 20 miles North-  
West of Peddāpuram and in the Rajahmundry Taluk. It is between  
Yerrampalem and Kottapalle (3½ miles N. E. of Yerrampalem and 5 miles  
South of Kottapalle) perhaps the hill near Gangampalem with a cave and  
Virabhadra image is same as the Kottapalli monastery with small figures  
and statues as well as some paintings. Perhaps they are in two different  
places and we can expect Buddhist antiquities at Gangampālem and  
Kottapalli.

13. JADDPANGI (28 miles north of Peddāpuram (Zuddengy),  
now in Yellavaram division. Sewell: *List of Antiquities* Vol I page 23.

"On a hill to the West of the village is a cave temple containing  
"a *lingam*. It is just possible that this may prove to be a Buddhist  
"chaitya."

Mr. Sewell thought that the "*lingam*" here was similar the  
"*tingam*" at Gunṭapalli; in fact a small stūpa (a *dayoba*) in a rock-  
cut *vihāra*.

*Godāvari District Gazetteer* (Madras 1915) page 287.

"Near the village is a cave containing the image of the well-known Brahman Saint Māṇḍavya Mahāmuni who is supposed by the local people to have lived in the cave."

But it is probably a statue of Sākyamuni (Buddha).

14. VĪRABHADRAPURAM (5 miles South-East of Jaddangi).  
*Godāvari District Gazetteer* (Madras 1915) page 288.

"On the Dēvuḍu Pinjāri hill close by is a small cave in which is an idol called Virabhadrasvāmi. This is worshipped every *Sivarātri* by the neighbouring hill people."

It is perhaps a natural cavern with a hindu idol but also it is perhaps a Buddhist rock cut cave.

15. RĀMAVARAM (Seven miles North-West of Adḍatigela).  
Yellavaram division. *Godāvari District Gazetteer* (Madras 1915) page 287.

"On a hill near this village is a small cave in which are four idols."

Probably a natural cavern with rude idols. However the place must be visited.

CONCLUSION: The object of the present paper is to stimulate the archaeological researches in the Godavari District.

**SCOPE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN THE  
AGENCY DIVISION OF THE ANDHRA DISTRICTS.**

**3. THE YĀNĀDIS\*.**

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

In my papers presented to the *Third* and the *Fifth* ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCES, I described the life and habits of the Kōyas and Chenchus respectively. It shall be my privilege now to present this paper on the Yānādis for the *Sixth* ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

**Physical Features and Measurements.**

Like the Khōṇḍs, Kōyās and Chenchus, the Yānādis belong to the *Leotrichi* or smooth haired peoples and to the black strata, and possess the following bodily features:—dark skin, black curly hair, long, and prognathous skull, broad and concave nose, well-developed brow ridges, bony frame with narrow chest and short stature. They are clearly a Pre-Dravidian aboriginal race, which is not thriving well on account of the adverse and unnatural conditions amidst which it is living. They are mainly a jungle tribe, generally choosing, on account of their thieving tendencies, to live on the border-land of the plain regions.

The measurements of three Yānadi skulls obtained by Mr. Thurston are as follows†:—

	<i>Three skulls.</i>		
Horizontal circumference	16.8	46	47
Length.	16.9	17	17
Breadth.	11.9	12.5	12.8
Cephalic index.	70.4	73.5	72.3
Nasal height.	4.9	3.7	4.4
Nasal breadth.	2.3	2.1	2.5
Nasal index.	47	57	57

**2 Meaning of the term "Yanadi."**

It would appear that the term is really '*anādi*' which means "having no beginning" or, "immemorial". The tribe is really ab-original.

\* A paper accepted by the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna in December, 1930.

† Vide *Madras Government Museum Bulletin* volume IV, No. 2, page 91.



Another meaning which is equally proper is "having wandering means". The tribe is really nomadic being addicted to hunting and thieving. Another meaning is derived from "*yānā lam*", meaning "living by the boat". The typical Yānādis are found at Śrīharikōṭa, a sea-coast island in Nellore District and some consider that they are immigrants from Straits and Australia. Their ethnic features also resemble those of the inhabitants of Australia. It is more probable that the Australians were themselves emigrants from the East Indian coast. Some define it as *Enāhi*, meaning "a low Jungle or forest tribe". They are the aborigines of the Telugu forest and hilly regions, and the strongest proof in support of this is found in their speaking a vulgar dialect of Telugu. Yānāhi may thus be a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *Anāhi*, which means "having no beginning". The Sanskrit speaking Aryans might have given the name *mādulu* to those primitive aborigines, who, by vulgar usage, came to be called *Yānādulu*.

### 3. Yanadi Settlements : Total Population and Distribution.

They are found all along the Telugu-speaking coast from Chingleput to Ganjam, and number over a lac and one third of people, more than half of whom live in Nellore District. The typical Yānādi is to be found still in Śrīharikōṭa, Nellore District. Yānādi settlements also flourish at Pōlavaram, Peddāpuram and Raṁpa in Gōdāvari District and here they are called Nakkalas. Their own account is that they lived originally near Pulicat lake but were enslaved by Redḍi Rājās who ruled over the Telugu Districts in the 14th and 15th centuries. They also claim to be one with the Chenchus in origin and allude to the worship of the common Chenchu *Devūḍu*, but otherwise they do neither inter-mingle with them nor observe their social customs. They are far below them in culture and habits. While the Chenchus worship Mohila Narasimha, the Yānādis worship the Pre-Dravidian gods like Polōramma, Ankamma and Dravidian gods like Subrahmanya and Veakateswarlu. The Redḍi Yānādis who are found in Guṇṭur and Nellore Districts are supposed to be of Chenchu clan who fled from Nallamalai hills to the east coast and are regarded as the superior class among Yānādis.

The *Madras Census Report* for 1921 Part I, p. 157 gives the following table of Yanadi population:—

	Population.		
	1921.	1911.	1901.
Yanadi	1,38,126.	1,21,549	1,03,906

The Percentage of increase during this decade, is 13.9 and during 1901 to 1921, it increased by 33%.

### Territorial Distribution.

The territorial distribution of the population is thus given in Part 2, page 123 :—

		Males,	Females,
Agency	...	2,865	3,214
Ganjam	...	1,601	2,018
Kistna	...	4,204	4,710
Guntūr	...	9,027	8,857
Nellore	...	10,405	38,354
Cuddapah	...	2,282	2,173
Chittoor	...	5,724	5,475
Chengleput	...	2,418	2,204

### Subdivisions among Yanadis.

At the census of 1921, the Yanadis returned 56 occupational subdivisions of which the Rōḍḍi or Chenchu Yānādis and the *Manchi* or good Yānādis are the main ones. The subdivisions seem to have arisen on occupational or professional basis. Thus, the Rōḍḍi Yānādis are employed as cooks or village watchmen or small cultivators. The *Sōmari* Yānādis are idlers and beggars, but in recent times they are employed as scavengers in the several municipalities, on the East Coast. The Aḍavi Yānādis are a forest or jungle clan depending mainly on forest produce and leading a nomadic life. The *Chatta* Yānādis roam about trees and live by collecting and selling honey, roots, herb, and plants. The *Garapa* Yānādis work on dry land and produce a few dry crops. The *Nakkala* Yānādis are found in Gōlavari and Viṅṅaputām Districts and they live by catching and eating jackals just as the Kappala Yānādis live by catching and eating frogs. The *Manchi* or good Yānādis are a superior class akin to Chenchus and they do not mix with *Kappala* or *Nakkala* Yānādis. They live by conducting street dramas and performing *Harikathas* (Divine discourses).

### 5 Their Social and Economic Conditions.

The Yānādis live in small *gūdem*s or hamlets consisting of 20 to 25 huts. Their huts, made of palm leaf, are small and circular and conical in shape and of 7 feet high, and rest on a central pole. A small hole forms the gateway. A mat, a pot and an iron axe form their chief property. Their cooking, eating and sleeping is done outside the hut only. Their society is super-patriarchal, as members respect the word of the *Pedda-Yānādi* or Headman who can rebuke, fine or even excommunicate defaulters. They have no tribal mark or rank excepting the head-ship of the *gūdem*. They give out their *Kulam* or caste as Yānādi and have the sub-sects also but are treated by śūdras as very low and not of their

caste. In caste and rank, they are above the Mālās and Mādigas or the Pariahs or *Panchayyas* of the Coastal Districts. In towns like Vizagapatnam, Cocanada, Rajahmundry and Nellore, they lead the life of scavengers or fruitsellers or beggars and owing to contact with town life, their society is undergoing a change for better. The males are no longer found with loin-cloth nor females with rags. They have decent dress, and their manners have improved. Their bodily features are changing from black to brown. They are no longer illiterate or idiotic. They are adopting new house names either after villages or individuals instead of the old ones named after articles or animals. But the *Sūldha* or pure Yārādīs are still superstitious, indolent, simple-minded, ignorant, unclean and vicious. They rarely bathe and are least God-fearing. They are quite primitive and barbarous. They produce fire by friction with 2 sticks of *Konda-ragi*, *aree*, *juvvi*, *tula* and other trees, or with two stones. They spend their time in hunting or fishing and eat raw flesh. They commit house-breaking, dacoity or murder. They have neither houses, nor lands, nor families. Hence, they are still in the barbarous stage.

They have house-names (exagramous septs) like *Bandi* (cart), *Chembeṭṭi* (hammer), *Chulaku* (parrot), *Doddi* (sheepfold), *Iya* (fly), *Īllu* (house), *Katti* (sword), *Koṭṭu* (cow shed), *Māku* (goat), *Mānika* (measure), *Pānu* (snake), *Ṭṇkāya* (cocoanut), *Tōṭa* (garden), *Udumu* (big lizard), *Jandā* (flag), *Elugu* (bear), etc.

#### Food, Dress and Occupation.

Their staple food consists of raw flesh of wild animals like deer and boar and mild animals like hare, tortoise, bandicoot, and fish, fruits; roots; nuts; honey etc. They are very fond of collecting forest produce and males and females alike leave their huts alone or in charge of their children in the morning and go to the neighbouring forest or hill with a basket, a long stick, an iron axe or spear, and collect honey, wax, sarasaparilla, tooth sticks (*barrinkī*), Nuxvomica, Tamarind, Soapnut, fruits and nuts, skins and horns, and return by evening to sell the same in the bazaars and buy rice and other necessities with the proceeds. Generally, being fond of drink, they spend the proceeds immediately in the toddy and meat shop. The same programme is repeated day after day. They are naturally villainous and their thieving tendency leads to crime at nights on the high roads or in the neighbouring villages. The Nakkalas are therefore treated as a criminal class under Criminal Tribes Act like the Yarakalas and Dommaras and kept under watch by the police.

While the males wear brass bangles for wrists, the females wear garlands of wax beads, and imitation corals round their necks and glass bangles round their wrists. Brass rings for fingers and ears are also worn. In towns, they are able to lead a settled and economic life and so they

possess brass vessels for carrying water and cooking food. On marriage occasions, they are able to provide a gold *tali*, and new cloths to the bride and a good feast to all the assembled relations.

The Yānādis are generally lazy. But when they are in want of food, they work actively. Rope and basket making, fish, hare and tortoise hunting, honey gathering, capturing rats, and bandicoots, collecting forest produce, capturing cobras and wild animals, cutting grass, collecting drift wood, pick-pocketing, practising medicine, committing thefts and dacoities—all these form the chief occupations of the males, while the females work as sweepers or scavengers or fruitsellers and the children graze the cattle of the villagers for a little sum or grain. They are good *shikārīs* and hunt the wild beasts skillfully. They know the forest flora well and knowing the efficiency of particular herbs and roots, they treat successfully fever and rheumatism. They use drugs for cobra bite and their women, in times of confinement, take no other medicine but a decoction of certain leaves. They make faithful servants provided good watch is kept over them.

In the *Madras Census Report*, Part I, page, 221, the following table is given as showing their number, for 1000, engaged in each occupation. In Pp. 254 to 260 in Part II of the report, as many as 56 occupations are named:—

*Yānādis.*

*Number for 1000 engaged  
in each occupation.*

Labourers	457	
Cultivators	175	
Shepherds	58	
Coolies	14	
Scavengers	23	N.B. The number of female workers
Wood cutters	36	very largely preponderates in each
Basket Makers	22	case.
Rice pounders	21	
Fishermen	31	
Servants	17	
Miner	12	
Village Watchmen	11	
Miscellaneous	93	

**Education, Language and Religion.**

The Yānādis of Telugu parts speak a corrupt and vulgar form of Telugu with a peculiar intonation and elongation of all vowels. Sometimes one is surprised at the quickness of expression and shortening of sound. Those who live on the borders of Tamil Districts speak corrupt

Tamil mixed with Telugu. In committing crime, they use strange signs and sounds, the meanings of which are known only to themselves.

They are mainly Hindu but their faith in God is faint. Nearly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their total population are returned as Animists in the census of 1921. Every Yānādi has a *Dēvū-a Illu* or house of God. They worship *Chenchu Dēvudu* as a household God and Pōlēramiā or Ankamma or Subbarāyudu or Venkatēśwarlu as a Deity ruling the destinies of the whole tribe. Wooden, stone or clay idols, water pots, trees or queerly drawn pictures on walls, represent their Gods. Their worship is simple and they are their own priests. They worship with *Kunkuma* (red powder) and Turmeric (yellow powder) the Gods and they sacrifice fowl to propitiate Gods and to invoke their help in their depredations. On marriage, death, or other special occasions, they sacrifice goats and perform crude ceremonies and indulge in feasting and dancing.

Every *gūdēm* or hamlet has a soothsayer or prophet who pretends to be in communication with some God or Goddess. Yānādis who lose their belongings or who ail from diseases consult the prophet by offering rice and cocoanuts and by burning camphor or incense before him. Then he becomes possessed and is coated with turmeric and *Kunkuma*, and holding a burning wick in his hand, he chants in praise of the deity and predicts, in a sing-song manner, the cause of trouble and prescribes proper propitiation to the God or Goddess.

The Yānādis observe omens, when they set out for crime, the sight of snake or cat being an evil omen. They observe Dasara and Pongal, the two chief Hindu festivals and drink excessively and indulge in merry dancing in which males beat the drums and females dance and sing vulgar ballads. The Nakkalas also dance on festive occasions in a rude manner singing indecent songs. But the Yānādis of Nellore are more educated as they enact street dramas and sing well. In recent years, they have trained themselves up to the stage. From Cuddapah and Nellore, theatrical companies and parties of Bhagavathulu come out occasionally to collect money.

Regarding their education, language and religion, the following figures are given in the *Madras Census Report* for 1921, Parts I & II.

*Madras Census Report Part I*

P. 58.

Percentage returned as animists.

1921

1911

46.8

64.7

Out of  $\frac{1}{3}$  lacs, 64,000 are

returned as Animists. p. 236.

*Madras Census Report Part II.*

Pp. 78 and 107.

*Education & Language.*

Males.

Females.

70,228

68,198

(851 literate)

(173 literate)

66,598 speak Telugu. 66,792 speak Telugu.

The rest speak Tamil or mixed Telugu and Tamil.

### Marriage, Birth and Death Ceremonies.

*Aḍivi* or forest Yānādis on account of their primitive and barbarous life practise marriage by consent or by force, as the case may be. There is no ceremony among them. But the *Reḍḍi* and *Munchi* Yānādis who are leading a settled life and are somewhat cultured, indulge in formal marriage ceremonies. Generally, the parents leave the matter to the concerned couple. Post puberty marriages are the rule. Formerly, a simple betrothal ceremony at the bridegroom's house finished the business but now a fuller ceremony has taken place. The bride groom presents *volī* or *Kanyaśulkam* or brideprice to the maternal uncle of the bride and new cloths to the parents of the bride. A marriage pandal is raised and relations are invited. The bride and groom bathe and put on new cloths dipped in Turmeric water. The *Kankinim* of mango leaf tied to a thread, is tied to the wrists of the parties by the maternal uncle who acts as the priest. Then the bridegroom in the presence of all relatives ties *tāli* a small gold piece attached to thread round the neck of the bride to the accompaniment of the beat of drum and pipe. After *tāli*, the pair pour rice over each other's heads. It is called *Talambrāṇu*. The distribution of *pān supāri* among relations, a feast and a dance close the ceremony. The parties then leave for honeymoon.

The state of conjugal fidelity among the Yānādis is low; adultery is a common vice among males and females. Pregnancy before marriage is not considered a serious matter. Widows can remarry but not with *Tāli* ceremony. Polyandry is not found but polygamy is common. Desertion by either party leads to divorce which is obtained by informing the *Kula Pedda* or Headman. The party that wrongfully deserts has to pay fine to the aggrieved party. The deserted wife is allowed to keep her children, even when she marries another husband. Illegal intimacy with persons of other than Yānādi caste is punished with fine or excommunication by the village head, Yānādis never resorting to courts of law.

There is no *puruḍu* or birth pollution at child-birth. The woman after confinement is given decoction of certain leaves and herbs for three days and then rice diet. On the 10th day, she bathes. A net is hung in front of the door to keep out evil spirits. The child after one month or more is named with the soothsayer's consent after an article or an ancestor. Appigaḍu, Durgaḍu, Akkigaḍu, Mācharigaḍu, are some of the names of the Nakkalas.

The Yānādis bury their dead and Hindu funeral rites are observed. The corpse is laid on leaves and washed. Parched rice is thrown on it by *sapindas*, (agnates) and then it is carried on a bier to the grave. The heads of families attend the burial and place three handfuls of earth into the burial pit and return after the burial and purify themselves first by ordinary

bath and then by sprinkling ash or turmeric water. People of the same *gotra* or *sapindas* drink a handful of water. On the 2nd or 3rd day after burial they perform *Chinnudinam* or Small ceremony Day, when they go to the burial place and sprinkle milk, rice and water on it just as they do on the day of burial itself.

The *Peddadinam* or Big ceremony Day is performed generally on the tenth day. The son cooks rice in a new pot. A clay image, to represent the departed relative, is made and kept in front of the hut and the rice balls are spread in front of it. Then the image and rice balls are taken to a pond or tank where the assembled relations offer prayers to the same and finally they are thrown into it. They then bathe and sprinkle turmeric water and return home, when a feast is arranged for all relations. As usual, music supplied by the pipe and drum and a dance close the ceremony.

### Conclusion.

As seen from the *Madras Census Reports*, the population figures for 1901 to 1921 give a steady increase showing that the tribe is increasing. All the same, it is very backward and primitive and a few large subdivisions like the *Adivi Yānādis* are classified as criminal tribes and watched by police. They have not parted the stage of primitive or stone age. Also, owing to the promiscuous life led by them, death rate is high and they do not live long. The *Yānādi* is ignorant, foolish and vicious and his pitiable and neglected condition must evoke sympathy. His position must be improved by Government by starting reclamation works and reformatory schools. The children should be clothed, fed and educated while the adults must be provided work in reserve forests or in Government lands. They may be provided with money and tools of cultivation so that they may become a peaceful agricultural community. The settlement of *Yānādis* at Bapatla (Stuartpuram) under the Salvation Army and their education by C. B. Mission has to some extent improved their condition and the experiment should be tried on a larger scale by the Government, considering that it is such tribes which are really depressed and oppressed that should be protected from total extinction.

## **STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR POLITY.**

K. ISVAR DUTT, B.A.

### **Chapter XI.**

#### **VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION.**

A study of South Indian Polity is incomplete without a sketch of the village administration. That the whole of Southern India, especially the portion comprised by the modern Madras Presidency and the South Indian states of Mysore and Travancore, was a net work of tiny village republics, till a few centuries ago, is an admitted fact both by the Indian and the foreign Historians. They survived dynasties after dynasties and succeeded revolutions after revolutions. The various epigraphs published so far bear an eloquent testimony to the above fact.

A few inscriptions of the period under study, relating to the present subject, are found, but it can be fairly presumed, that the village republics which flourished during the Chōla and to Chālukyan epochs flourished also under the Vijayanagar Empire. But the strong centralised Government under this Empire did not foster the growth of these village states; and yet we find evidence of their existence and their functions.

Each village or group of villages, was administered by a village assembly elected by the villagers. The assembly consisted of various committees with powers to dispose of matters relating to the particular branch of administration entrusted to the same. The committees were subordinate to the assembly and had to carry out its orders.

#### **Some Fundamental Functions of the Village Assembly.**

From the various inscriptions extant, we set forth below some important functions exercised by those corporate bodies and elucidate each function with records so far available.

(A) These corporate bodies possessed absolute control over the property vested in its hands and hence sell or acquire land for any purpose, whether of charitable or of public utility. For the benefit of the readers who may be pessimistic about the existence of these village assemblies in days of old, we may mention some instances where their existence has been brought to light. An unfinished record of the Vijayanagar king Harihara II. in Śaka 1310, mentions the assembly of Sevaikulam.



Two inscriptions Nos. 217 and 370 of 1917 of Bukka II, cated in Śaka 1327 and 1328 respectively. From the former we learn that the assembly of Tiruvāṇḍārkōyil consisted of 4,000 members, which was indeed, a very unwieldy body for transacting business.<sup>1</sup>

An inscription of Mallikārjuna Dēva Mahārāja in Ś. 1381 records a gift for the merit of Narasingarāja Uḍaiyar and incidentally mentions the great assembly (*Mahāsabha*) of Kavirippākkam.<sup>2</sup> So on we can multiply instances of their mention and the various instances that are quoted below, in substantiating their powers and functions, will all tend to prove our statement. No. 350 of 1923 of the time of Haṁhara II, registers the purchase of certain villages by one Śrīrāma Bhaṭṭa from the Assembly of Ukkal *alias* Vikramābharanichchatruvēdimangalam in in Pāgur-nāḍu for 400 panams. No. 358 of 1903, during the time of the same monarch, records a sale of a village for 400 panams to certain individual by the same assembly. So also 359 of 1923, of the time of the same emperor registers the purchase of a 1/3 share of a certain village by one Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa from the same Assembly for 200 panams.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of the time of Virūpākṣa I. records a grant as Tirunāmattukāni to the temple by the village assembly of Tiruppārundurai, of land confiscated by them from a certain Āṇḍānpillai of Tirupattūr, on account of some fault committed by the latter. This is one of instances of the power wielded by the assemblies of that period.<sup>4</sup> An inscription to the east of Sahalli, Malvilli Taluk, which seems to bear the date S. 1452, informs us that all the *Mahājanas* of Gavudugare granted certain lands as a tax free Koḍge to Kalā-Nāyaka for having made Saveyahalli, a pura.<sup>5</sup> An inscription of Prātāpa Devarāya records an agreement among the villagers of Māṅgāḍu, prohibiting the sale of lands to outsiders or even a gift of them as a dowry, and this record affords an unique example of the attempt at the preservation of the corporate unity of the village.<sup>6</sup> One inscription of the time of Achyutarāya, records a gift to the shrines of Pāpavināśadēva, Raghunāthadēva, and Vīrēśvaradēva, by the *mahājanas* of Nagaragere *alias* Krishnarāyaṇa-Saṁudra-agrahāra, a village in Roḍḍanāḍu. Another inscription of the same emperor records the sale of a land to the above shrines by the *mahājanas* of the *Sarvamānya Agrahāra* village Kānchīsamudra, which was given to them as a free gift by Prātāpa Dēvaraya.<sup>7</sup> A record dated S, 1302 registers

1 Para 67 of *Epigraphical Report* for 1918

2 No. 13 of North Arcot District (*Madras Inscriptions* ...)

3 Para 40 of *Epigraphical Report* for 1924

4 Para 35 of *Epigraphical Report* for 1925-26

5 Page 42 *Mysore Epigraphical Report* for 1920

6 No 779 Chingulput District (*Madras Inscriptions*)

7 Nos. 76 and 77 of Anantapur District (*Madras Inscriptions*)

The grant of some land in the village Maddūr, otherwise called Upēndrapura, and the toll collections of the village for the services of feeding pilgrims, recitation of *Vedas* etc. in the temple of Dēśinātha, by the *gnahājanas* and *Gauḍa prajegal*) of Maddūr.<sup>8</sup>

(B) That these assemblies possessed certain inherent rights of fresh taxation, determining the taxes payable to the paramount authority, is elucidated by certain epigraphs that are available. No. 178 of 1926, registers the decision of the assembly of Siṟurayal excluding *Sarvamānya* land belonging to a certain deity and to include others for purposes of taxation. No. 59 of 1914, belonging to the period of Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya registers an agreement entered by the assembly of Parāntakanāḍu and the Valaṅgai 91 and Idangai 98 sects regarding payment of dues to the *Rājagāraṁ* of the King. No. 384 of 1914 the same year records the gift of right of levying certain taxes to a goldsmith, by the people of Kulai-Kulattūr.

(C) These republics exercised the functions of a trustee which accepted the management of charitable endowments by any private persons and accepted deposits both in kind and coin, or in the shape of landed property for administering the trust on the interest derived from the deposit. Ep. Colin. No. 469 of 1925, of the time of Bukkarāya, records an agreement by the assembly of Nandikamṇa-chaturvēdimangalam, to feed certain ascetics daily in return for a grant of 400 *kūli* of tax-free land, made as *dānapuṛam* by a lady named Umaiyaḷ-Ammaiyaḷ. No. 470 of the same year registers a similar agreement by the same assembly with a certain Vanākkani Ponnali Nambi, a merchant of Miṟpadi, who endowed as *dānapuṛam*, 2,000 *kūli* of land in the village Vāippur for feeding daily a specified number of persons versed in *Vedas*.

(D) The assemblies, exercised certain judicial functions ; one of such is narrated from an interesting epigraph available. A dispute arose between two priests and the managers of the temple of Kāmēśvara-Uḍaiyanāyanār at Argalūr, about the privilege of worshipping the God all the thirty days. The case is succinctly stated as follows:-- A has been enjoying for a long time the privilege of worshipping the God all the thirty days of the month in the temple, while actually only 15 days belonged to him by right and the remaining to B who abandoned the worship and left it unclaimed. A sold  $7\frac{1}{2}$  days of privilege of worship, out of the 15 days of privilege of worship to B of another priest C and gave him a sale deed. The sale deed so executed, now deprived A of the acquired right enjoyed by him for some generations back. A became issueless and the Nattār volunteered to settle the question of enjoyment,

and during the period of settlement of the question, the worship of the temple was performed by an outsider. Then 'A' appealed to Tirumala Nāyaka, the ruler of the District. He, and the Naṭṭār, together advised the parties to put the case before the *mahājanas* of the *Agrahārās* of, Kuḷattūr and Alambalam etc. The *mahājanas* assembled together and heard the case from both sides and delivered the following judgment. 'A' may have been the hereditary holder of only of 15 days of privilege and it was not fair to sell part of the disputed portion thereof to an outsider 'C', while the right to purchase in virtue of long enjoyment primarily rested in 'A'. So, A must continue to enjoy the full 30 days as before and sale deed given to 'C' should be cancelled.<sup>9</sup> The above instance, demonstrates the democratic spirit, in which such disputes were settled in days gone by.

(E) Instances there were, that certain private institutions like these fostered the growth of handicrafts also.<sup>10</sup>

#### Merchant Guilds.

Even then the paramount power, or the high officials of the state, never interfered into the rights of these assemblies and could not remit taxes, or make gifts of them, without consent of these bodies, which represented the general will of the people and which jealously guarded the interests of the local people and the Communities. Ep. Colln. No. 681 of 1923 records that Abbarāja Timmappa, the agent of the *Pradhāna Tirumalarāya*, granted the *mālavisa* of certain villages for the offering of the god Tiruvēngalanātha with the consent of *Seṭṭi-pradhānas* of the villages and of the *Mahānāḍu*. Again Kampadēva Anna, another officer of Achyutarāya is said to have made gift of some duties on crops and of the fee on marriages to the temple of Gauriśvara, with the consent of *Nānādeśu* merchants.<sup>11</sup> We have already noticed the instance of Bēlur inscription recording how Salumule Benja merchants, with various sects dependent on them and all the *Holiyas* of Vijayanagar and 26 other towns where fairs were established, resolved to pay Muddapa-Danḍanāyaka, certain dues in return for the protection afforded by him.<sup>12</sup> A record of the Vijayanagar king Achyutarāya in S. 1456 mentions a gift of tolls collected by the merehants at the market held every Sunday in the hamlet of Vireśvara-Dēvapura belonging to Lēpākshi, of tolls raised in Harunādu and Hosūra Nādu and of other income, for oblations to be offered at the instance of Viraṇanāyaka.

9 Para 26 of *Epigraphical Report for 1914*

10 Para 40 of *Epigraphical Report for 1924*

11 Para 83 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1923*

12 *Ep. Carn.* vol. V part I BL 75

When Vīra Vijaya Maharāya son Dēvarāya was on throne, the *Sālumūle* of the 56 countries, with all the cultivators, and Pāñchālas, having assembled, established a weekly fair. In connection with it, which is a *mānya*, for the Paṭṭaṇa-svāmi of the fair Chiṇi-Bassi-Chetti, they granted him a land.<sup>13</sup>

A record of Ś. 1447 which falls into the reign of Śrī Krishṇa Dēvarāya, supplies the interesting information that a certain Chennamma Nāyanigār settled three parts of land under a tank at Kaṇḍlakunṭa be set apart for *Velamas*, Gods, and the *Brahmins* and two for *Kāpus* who guarded the country. This affords some indication of the system of village autonomy which was in force in Vijayanagar times. The cultivating classes exercised certain rights along with the Brahmins and the gods.<sup>14</sup>

Thus we find that village republics existed and exercised certain functions, preserving the democratic spirit in the medieval South Indian Polity and administration of the temple.

## Chapter XII.

### TEMPLE ADMINISTRATION.

One important branch of local Self Government in the mediaeval South Indian Polity is its Temple administration. The temple in the South is the pageant of the South Indian monarch's patronage of learning and monuments of his munificence. It is the emblem of the excellent workmanship of the South Indian architect and a conspicuous sign of the South Indian culture. To crown all, it is the epitome of the aesthetic mentality of the monarch. Innumerable inscriptions that have been so far published throw a flood of light on the administration of these temples. These temples were august administrative institutions in themselves and managed by committees or priests, or agents probably elected by the villagers or appointed by them or by the state. The subject is generally dealt with under the following heads.

#### I. Royal Patronage

- a. Construction and maintenance of temples. Religious neutrality.
- b. Grant of villages and lands to the temples
- c. Making over taxes due to the state, to the temples.
- d. Remitting of taxes on lands gifted away to the temple.
- e. Interference in the temple affairs.

#### II. Public Patronage.

- a. Construction and maintenance of temples.
- b. Imposition of taxes, for festivals and construction of gōpurams.

13 *Ep. Carn.* vol. X BP 72

14 *Pura 65 of the Epigraphical Report 1916*

**III. Control.**

- a. Management by the village assembly.
- b. Management by the committee of trustees.
- c. Management by priests.
- d. Management by agents.

**IV. Finance.**

- a. Purchase and sale of lands.
- b. Receipts and disbursements.
- c. Trust properties.
- d. Investments.
- e. Keeping of accounts.
- f. Temple Treasury.

**V. Temple Servants and Miscellaneous.**

- a. Their colonisation.
- b. The settlement of disputes.
- c. Dancing girls.
- d. Religion and art.
- e. Record of ancient Indian History.

**1. Royal Patronage.**

The numerous temples that now adorn the South Indian landscape owe their existence to the munificence of its monarchs. To whatever faith they belonged, they constructed temples to the Gods of the other faiths also. The selection of sites for these shrines, shows also their aesthetic bent of mind. In either on the bank of a sacred river, or in the midst of a valley or on the peak of a mountain or in the heart of a populous and religious centre of pilgrimage. The Vijayanagar monarchs of the first Dynasty constructed Vaishnava and Saiva temples and built Jaina shrines also; for the history of Jainism in the Kanarese Province dates back to the Kadamba and the Western Chālukyan times. The Kadamba kings were supporters of the faith and the Western Chālukyan monarchs patronised the same creed. Though the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire imbibed the philosophical expositions of the *Advaitic* monism of the sage Vidyāranya, they were also influenced by the Jaina faith. Jaina temples were built in the heart of the city and ministers like Baichappa, Igugappa, who were the followers of the Jaina creed, were the ministers and generals of army under Bukka and his successors. The family God of the Vijayanagar monarchs is Virūpākṣa, the great Śiva who dwells in the famous temple of that name in the capital. The last ruler of the first dynasty forsook Saivism and became an ardent Vaishnava and his subjects also followed the same faith according to "*Pr.ṛipannāmṛtam*." The monarchs of the *second*, *third* and the *fourth* dynasties were all fervent *Vaishnavas*, but they never forgot their tutelary God Virūpākṣa.

Emperor Krishnarāya built both Śiva and Vaishṇava temples. After the first Kalinga Expedition, the king restored, and repaired the damage and carried out extensions to the Vaishṇava temples at Ahobilam, Tirupati etc., and Śiva temples at Kālahastī, Śrīśailam, Tiruvannāmalai and Chidambaram.

Not only did they spend their fabulous wealth on the construction, extension and upkeep of these glorious shrines, but they granted villages and lands for their maintenance. The grants were registered for the religious merit of their parents, for the glory of their ministers, to commemorate their victories, for the celebration of certain festivities connected with the temple at the time of their coronation, and on some other important occasions.

The benefactions, thus made, may be divided into two broad classes (1) *Devādāna* lands and (2) *Devālāya* lands. The former were lands held by the temple and the latter were lands granted for the support of the temple. These lands were not exempted from taxation and the authorities who managed them had to pay the *Rajājāram* the annual taxes due to the royal exchequer. But there were occasions also when the monarch made over taxes due to the state, to the temple. Dhēvarāya I. issued a '*Nir pa*' or order to Śrīgirimātha of Chandragiri asking him to remit the *Jodi* of  $13\frac{1}{4}$  *pon* and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  *panam* or 13,  $16\frac{1}{4}$  *panam*, at 10 *panams* per *pon* due to the Chandragirirājya from Tirupukkuli, in order that that amount may be utilised for the temple of Porērrupperumāl of that place. The order further requests the viceroy to send his own, *Tiruvshichchittu* to the '*Sthānikas*' of the village to make copies of king's order<sup>1</sup>

Mallikarjuna is stated to have granted to the Nityēśvara Śiva temple as Śrīmūshṇam the taxes amounting to 20 *panam* collected from the Kaikkōlas living in the Tirumaḍavilagam of that temple, in order to conduct service in that temple called Rāhuttamindan-Sandi.<sup>2</sup> An interesting epigraph of Kampana II. registers the grant of Madambākkam to the temple of Sirrein<sup>3</sup>Aluḍaiya Nayanar. The charter issued under the orders of the king, by a certain Viṭṭappar runs "This village, the whole villages which is the sacred holding of God, limited by its four boundaries, including the village waste, wet lands, and garden lands with all its limitations of communal obligations, fees on cotton looms, obligations for maintaining oil mills etc., fees for maintaining village servants and other similar obligations, new or old, which may hereafter become due from each tenant, we have given for worship, and repairs as *Sarvamānya* grant to this temple in order that it may last till the Sun and Moon exist". The

<sup>1</sup> Para 60 of Epigraphical Report for 1916

<sup>2</sup> Para 61 of Epigraphical Report for 1916

limitations imposed by the charter are many, and signify that although the donee—in this case the temple—was exempted from all assessments payable to the established government, was still bound to obey certain rules of internal management and communal obligations.<sup>3</sup> An inscription in Chennakesavasvāmi temple in Santarāvūru registers, that Sāluva Teluṅgarāyadēva-mahārāya declared tax free the lands owned by Gods and Brahmins of Rāvūru for the merit of himself and his parents.<sup>4</sup> An inscription at Seḍamangalam in South Arcot District informs us that in A.D. 1517 Krishṇa Rāya remitted a revenue of 10,000 gold pieces in favour of certain Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. In Ep. No. 125 of 1904 is a long list of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples which were benefited by the remission.<sup>5</sup>

The interference of the King was sought for, whenever any maladministration, or oppression from any authority took place. The Tiruvorriyur Inscription of Dēvarāya II. records that the *mahēśvaras* of the temple complained to the king, that the tenants, servants, and other residents of the village owned by the temple, had been much distressed by the imposition of taxes such as *Jōḍi*, *Mugaṁpārvai*, *Angaśalei*, *Śambaḍam*, and *Viṣēhādāyam* and also by the lease system introduced by Government officers for adoption the trustees. Thereupon it was ordered by the king that the above taxes together with the *Ariṣi-karan*, gold bull, good cow, *vetti* and *Kattāyam*, be hereafter collected by the *mahēśvaras* of the temple, that the lease lands already paid for be redeemed by money received from the royal treasury.<sup>6</sup>

Another epigraph of the same monarch registers an order of the king to the managers of all temples and temple charities, in the district of Tiruchchirupalli-Usavadi thus:—

“As we have been informed by the *mahēśvaras* and Marudavaṇa-Chchiran that the king's officers in the villages belonging to the temple are unjustly collecting the taxes, Kānnikkai, Araṣuperu, Karaṅkkar-jōḍi, Viṣēhādāya, Alamanji etc., representing these to be dues payable to the palace, that the villagers taking upon the mortgage lands they purchased, presented or otherwise owned by the temples, stubbornly refuse to give back those lands to the temples and that in consequence temple tenants have abandoned the villages, causing thereby the stoppage of worship in these temples, we order that the taxes mentioned above, shall no longer be collected, the only payable tax however being Sulavanippōḍ: that the

<sup>3</sup> Para 49 of Epigraphical Report for 1912

<sup>4</sup> Para 68 of Epigraphical Report for 1916

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 288 of 1903 and 125 of 1904 of Epigraphical collections and para 23 of Epigraphical Report for 1901

<sup>6</sup> No. 226 of 1913 of Epigraphical collections

worship shall be conducted in future and that the temple lands shall in no case be let out on a long lease, nor shall this be assigned to any one tax free etc.<sup>7</sup>

A record dated S. 1333 of Virabhūpati Uḍaiyar states that as the residents of Vaḷuḍilambhaṭṭuchavaḍi who had agreed to measure out to the temple of Ponnath-balanāthar, one *tuni* and one *paḍukku* of paddy per *mā* of wet land, to pay  $\frac{1}{4}$  of *paṇam* per *mā* of dry land give one *Uḷakku* of ghee per *payir* of 20 cows and one *Uḷakku* of oil for every *pilāṇi*, had discontinued this supply, the King ordered the revival of it and from the proceeds, instituted in his name, the midday service of God.<sup>8</sup>

Thus innumerable instances may be quoted, whence the monarch interfered in the temple administration, whenever his influence was needed in the discharge of Justice.

#### Public Patronage.

Apart from the Royal patronage that the *South Indian Temple* enjoyed from time to time, it had its equal share from the public patronage. We come across innumerable epigraphs that instance the statement. An epigraph of the time of Vira Bukkanna Oḍiyar records the construction of Mallikārjuna temple in Arisekere, by the *Mahājanas* of the village and the grant of some land for services in the temple including wages to the '*Kalukutiga*' by the *Mahājanas* under the orders of *Mahāpradhāna* Basaveya Dannāikar.<sup>9</sup> One inscription records the grant of some land in the village Maddūr otherwise called Upēndrapura and the toll collections of the village for the services of feeding pilgrims, recitation of Vedas and Purāṇas etc., in the temple of Dēśinatha by the *Mahājanas* and Ganḷu Prajegal of Maddūr.<sup>10</sup> We had already an occasion to notice elsewhere how the people came forward to shoulder burdens of additional taxation, when it was a matter of religious inspiration. A provision had to be made for dancing girls for god Ramanatha and thirty *gadyānu* a year had to be raised for the purpose and the brahmins levied this at the rate of one *pana* per plough on the Śūdras and one *pana* for the family of labourers for hire and undertook to pay the amount in three instalments.<sup>11</sup> Yet another inscription of the time of Krishṇadēvarāya records the visit of his great minister to Terkanambī, on which occasion he imposed a contribution of 2 *pana* for every village and hamlet to provide for the car festival of the god Ālvār.<sup>12</sup> Instances may be multiplied but

7 Para 27 of *Epigraphical Report* for 1901

8 452 B of *Ep. Col.* for 1921-22

9 *Mysore Archaeological Reports* for 1928 No. 4 S' 1221

10 *Ibid* 56 S' 1302

11 *Ep. Carn.* vol IV part 2 GU 32 and 34

12 *Ep. Carn.* vol. IV GU 8



all these tend to show that public patronage equally extended to the temple in those days.

#### Control.

The next important subject in the administration of the temple is the agency through which it was governed. We can broadly divide the same and state that it was four-fold. It was managed by the village assembly or *Sthānikas* (Trustees) or by the priests. We have instances to show that the administration was also entrusted to agents of the king or the provincial governors. Whatever may be the agency through which the affairs of the temple were administered, we can boldly assert that the administration was conducted very efficiently, in the interests of the god or goddess that inhabited the temple.

#### Conclusion.

The South Indian Temple was thus a powerful economic and social entity besides being a source of religious inspiration. It was the one institution common both to the ruler and the people enjoying the fullest advantages of their healthy cooperation, for by its very origin the temple was a corporation founded with the full cooperation of the local public and the ruling sovereign and his local subordinates. Royal patronage and popular cooperation took many forms but the most common thing was the giving of villages and of lands for the benefit of the great Hindu Institution and management and control by both of them.

Every temple, generally was under the management of a committee. In cases where there was no committee the village assembly acted as the trustee. The central shrine was in the management of the priests or a committee of priests who were responsible to carry on the obligations relating to the maintenance of worship and other things. Similar to the temple central shrine the temple treasury was in the management of a committee, which possessed administrative powers, like the selling of lands belonging to the temple. (*Ep. Col. No. 321 of 1921*). Whenever there were cases of embezzlements by the temple officers there were commissions appointed by the ruling king or his subordinate for enquiry and proper punishment of the culprits. Above all, the temple in the South India appears to have been treated as a Registry office, but fortunately with greater chances of its records lasting longer time than at the present day. This must have been the spirit under which inscriptions previously engraved on the temple walls, pillars and doorways were scrupulously re-engraved when the structure was rebuilt, under official supervision, (Nos. 486 & 487 of 1921). It is this habit of registration which has behind it a truly business-like and historic instinct, that the modern research student owes so much of his accurate knowledge of the past to, and for which he cannot but feel thankful.

## KRISHNADĒVARĀYA, HIS OFFICERS AND CONTEMPORARIES

K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M.A., B.L.

In the last article\*, I dealt with the importance of *Rāyavāchakamu* in dealing with the campaigns of Krishṇadēvarāya and pointed out that the book is entitled to great weight as compared to the *Chronicles* of Paes and Nuniz and other vernacular sources. *Krishṇarāya vijayamu* of Dhūrjaṭi is based upon *Rāyavāchakamu* and repeats its contents to the minutest detail. *Rāyavāchakamu* was written for Viśvanātha Nāik of Madura (1540 A. D.); it closes with the return of Krishṇarāya from the campaigns in Kalinga.

1 The most important personage in the Vijayanagar History of that time is Sālūva Timmarasu, the great Chancellor, otherwise known as Appāji. History honours him and legendary tradition has woven round him a number of stories in connection with Krishṇadēvarāya though many of them have not stood the test of historical criticism.

Timmarasu was the minister of Vīra Narasiṃharāya, and the 'Busbalrao' of Nuniz. Nuniz further informs us that Vīra Narasiṃharāya in order to obtain the throne for his own son after his death asked Timmarasu to put out the eyes of Krishṇadēvarāya and bring them to him. The minister took the eyes of a she-goat to the dying king and after his death, raised Krishṇadēvarāya to the throne. Krishṇadēvarāya made him his chief minister and Timmarasu continued to hold an important position in the state till the later days of Krishṇadēvarāya. Equally strange is the story adverted to by Nuniz that the favourite minister was suspected of having done away with Tirumalarāya, the son of Krishṇadēvarāya and that the latter imprisoned Timmarasu, his son and brother Gōvindarāja and put out their eyes. That Krishṇadēvarāya had a son named Tirumalarāya by Tirumalāmba is proved by epigraphical evidence<sup>2</sup> but the story about Timmarasu does not find support elsewhere.

Timmarasu was a favourite of the king. 'He commanded the whole household, and to him all lords acted as towards the king.' (*Paes*). During the reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, he was well advanced in age. The *Virinchipuram Inscription* (A. D. 1496) during the reign of Immaḍi

\* See above volume IV pp. 221—226

1. *S. I. Inscriptions* vol IV Nos. 802. & 803 (Saka 1429 & 1431).

2. *Ep. Carnatica* vol IV Magadi Nos. 6 & 82.

Narasimharāya refers to a grant by him.<sup>3</sup> He was the Chief Minister of Krishṇadēvarāya and one of the Inscriptions goes so far as to describe him as the very body of his master (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. VI, No. 146 — *Sachīva* = *śya dēhu-iva*, సచివోస్య దేహ ఇవ)

The great minister was an *Āruvāla Niyōgi* Brāhmin of Kaundinya Gōtra and was a warrior as well as a great administrator. He followed Krishṇarāya in his campaigns and received the viceroyalty of Koṇḍaviḍu at his hands. Nuniz says that he left his brother Gōvindarāja and proceeded with his master in his Kalinga tour. The minister was personally present at the siege of Rāichur in 1520 A. D. He is said to have defeated one Madar Maliquo near Koṇḍaviḍu (Sewell thinks that the latter was a general of Kutub Shāh of Gōlconḍa) and after settling the country returned to Vijayanagar.

*hāyavāchakamu* refers to him along with Ayyamarasu, Koṇḍamarasu and Bācharasu. The book further refers to the dissatisfaction of Krishṇarāya during the early years of his reign and Timmarasu reprimanded him for his lack of foresight in leaving the capital at dead of night on a certain occasion and promised him that hence forward the affairs of the kingdom would be run in accordance with his wishes. The book further informs us of the strategem of Timmarasu in creating disunion between the *Sixteen Pātruḍus* and Pratāparudra Gajapati of Kalinga which led to the defeat of the latter and the victory of Krishṇarāya. The commentary on *Prabōdhachandrodaya* of Krishṇamiśra by Nāḍendla Gōpamantri, a nephew of Timmarasu, refers to the latter as a patron of Poets, *Kavi-pārijālah*. The Bezwada Inscription of Singarāja<sup>4</sup> refers to him in equally eulogistic terms.

అఖిలమపి భవనభారం మూర్తిమతి విశ్వాసనివాసే నిఖిలగుణానామతి  
తపనధామ్ని సాత్త్వికమృదామ్ని మంత్రినీపాతివిజితసురమంత్రినీ నిధాయ

"akhilam-api bhuvana-bhāraṁ murti-mati visvāsa nivāse nikhila guṇānām-atitapanadhāmnī Sāṭṭva Timma nāmnī mantrini pāni vijita sura mantrini nidhāya.

Further, Timmarasu is said to have been the author of a commentary called *Manōhara* on the *Bā'abhārata* of Agastya (Refer *Sources of Vijayanagar History* p 143, where the colophon of the work is cited). We also learn that Timmarasu had a *Kāryakurta* (Secretary) called Rēntūri Chittāmarasu<sup>5</sup>, and his *Upapradhāna* or second minister was Sōmarasu son of Mēlamamantri of Chandragiri.

3. *S. I. I.* vol I No. 115

4. *Ibid* 789 (*Saka* 1440)

5. *S. I. I.* vol IV No. 702

2 Sāluva Gōvīndarāja brother of Timmarasu and son of Rāchirāju. Prior to A. D. 1513, it appears that Gōvīndarāja as well as Timmarasu were in enjoyment<sup>6</sup> of Gutti Sīma.<sup>6</sup> The statement of Nuniz that Timmarasu left his brother Gōvīndarāja in charge of Konḍaviḍu is not correct. Gōvīndarāja is referred to as the *Nāyak* of Terakanambi *Sīma* in Hoysale *nāḍu* between A. D. 1513-22. An inscription of 1523 A.D. refers to him as a minister of Krishṇadēvarāya.<sup>7</sup> In the battle of Raichur, Gōvīndarāja followed Kumāra Vīrayya of Seringapatam as is referred to by Nuniz as 'Ogendraho,' the Governor of the city of Vijayanagar.

3 Nāḍēṇḍlā Gōpamantri was the nephew (sister's son) of the great Minister Timmarasu and the son of Krishṇāmbikā and Timmamantri. He had two brothers Kōna and Appa. The latter married Tirumalāmba, the daughter of Timmarasu and Lakshmāmāmbā, and the work *Rājāsākhara Charitam* of Mādayagāri Mallana in Telugu is dedicated to him. He became famous for his benefactions to the poor. Gōpamantri is referred to in *Rājāsākhara Charitam* as having been ruling over the kingdom of Gutti but was placed in charge of Konḍaviḍu by his uncle Timmarasu. He was the author of *Krishṇārjunasamvādamu*, a *Dvipadakāvya* in Telugu and a commentary in Sanskrit on the famous *Prabodhachandrodāya* of Krishna Miśra. Both the works refer to him as the ruler of Konḍaviḍu. His assistant was one Dēchayāmātya, the author of a commentary on *Mahīnnastava* and a pupil of Lakshmīdhara. *Rāyavāchakamu* mentions that after the Siege of Konḍaviḍu, one Konḍayya (Rāyasam Konḍamarasu) was left in charge of the fort. But this seems only to be a temporary arrangement. Konḍamarasu as we shall presently see was in charge of the Udayagiri division. At Konḍaviḍu, Krishṇadēvarāya took Vīrabhadra, the son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Narahari Patro son of Kumāra Hammīra Patro, Mallapakhan of Rāchuru, Vuḍḍanda khan, Pūsapati Rāchirāju, Lakshmīpatirāju, Janyāla Kēśavāpātīḍu and Bālachandra Mahapātro of the west as prisoners but seems to have treated them with respect and released them subsequently.<sup>9</sup>

4 Rāyasam Konḍamarasu. He was the son of Śrīpatirāju Timmaya and Singayamma and seems to have been in charge of Penugonḍa in A.D. 1512.<sup>10</sup> He was put in charge of the Udayagiri Division about A. D. 1515 and continued till A. D. 1525. He was in his old age a minister and *kāryakarta* of Krishṇadēvarāya and is said to have built the two tanks of Anantāsāgaram and Kaluvāyi. In the battle of Raichur in

6. *Ibid* vol IV Nos. 800 802 & 803

7. *Ep. Car.* vol IV Ch. 99

8. Recently published in Hyderabad by Mr. S. Pratapa Reddi

9. Amaravati Inscription—Saka 1437 S. I. I, vol VI. No. 248.

10. *Ep. Carnatica* vol XI Pg. 5

A. D. 1520 he was one of the generals in the army of Krishṇadēvarāya. Nuniz refers to him as Condemara (Conḍamarāḍe) and says that he was the person consulted by Narasa Nāyak, the father of Krishṇarāya in his attempt to get at the throne of the Sāluvas. He further says that after the alleged dishonour of Timmarasu about A.D. 1527, Krishṇadēvarāya appointed as his chief minister one Ajaboissa (Ajaparca Timmappa) the son of Conḍamarāḍe. As to who is meant by Ajaparca Timmappa, it is not clear. One Timmappa Naik was the *third* in command at the battle of Raichur but it cannot be asserted that he was the son of Konḍamarasu above referred to and the Minister of Krishṇadēvarāya in his later days. Konḍamarasu died about A. D. 1525 and was succeeded by Appapparasayya.<sup>11</sup>

5 Mallarasu, the son of Nāgarasu is said to be a minister of Krishṇadēvarāya and was in charge of Jajur Sīma in Hoysala Nāḍu.<sup>12</sup> He established a fair in Rāmagiri and his manager was Vāmarasu.

6 Krishṇarāya Naik—He is described as the right-hand man of Krishṇadēvarāya<sup>13</sup> and was his agent for affairs or *Kāryakarta* in A.D. 1520.<sup>14</sup> In 1527 AD, he seems to have become quasi-independent and is endowed with royal titles, *Mahārājathirāja paramēśvara Mēdintmsīara gāṇḍa* etc. His son was Mallarasā (Hy. 78). He belonged to the Sāluva family and Nuniz refers to him as Lord of Aysel and one of the important Nāyaks in the reign of Achyutārāya.

7 Virabhadra Gajapati son of Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa was placed in charge of Malaya Benur Sīma in Hoysala Nāḍu.<sup>15</sup> The story of Nuniz that he was insulted in public in the city of Vijayanagar and that in consequence, he put himself to death is untrue. Virabhadra Gajapati does not however seem to have continued as a Nāyak as one Ādiyappa Naik was put in charge of the above *sīma* about A.D. 1528.

8 Ādiyappa Naik (Ādeppa) was one of the generals at Raichur. He was an officer at the door of Krishṇarāya's palace<sup>17</sup>, and his brother Sinnappa Nāyak was connected with the revenue settlement of one of the districts in Krishṇarāya's time.

9 Yellappa Naik was in charge of Ramanayakahalli Sīma in A.D. 1510 (*Ep. Carn.* vol. XII Mg. No. 58)

11. *Ep. Report* 1913—Page 122

12. *Ep. carnatica* vol XI—Holalkere Nos. 70 73 84 108 & 128

13. *Ep. Car* vol IV Hg 40, 78 & 84

14. *Ep. Car* vol IV Hun 48

15. *Ep. Car.* vol XI Dg 107

16. *Ep. Car.* vol XI Dg 106

17. *Ep. Report* 1915—16 Page 143,

10 Māde Naik was in charge of Sōlūr Sīma in A. D. 1515-16 (*Ep Carn.* vol. IX. Magadi No. 68 and vol. XII. Kunigal No. 25)

11 Kanchi Sōmanna Oḍeyar son of Timmānna Oḍeyar was in Chennapatṭaṇa Sīma in A.D. 1513.

12 Kampa Oḍeyar is referred to as a minister in A. D. 1518 (*Ep. Corn.* Kankanhalli No. 73 vol. IX.)

13 Singapa Naik. He calls himself the *priyakumāra* of Krishṇadēvarāya in A.D. 1528<sup>18</sup>.

14 Kumāra Vīrayya of Seringapatam. He is the father-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya and father of Tirumaladev<sup>19</sup> (Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* p. 336).

15 Nuniz mentions that one Kāma Naik was the Commander-in-chief of Krishṇaraya at the battle of Raichur and the second in command was Triambakarao. The latter was the son of Tipparasa and ruled the Muḷavāye country during the last days of Krishṇadēvarāya's reign.

The *Epigraphical Reports* further mention that the Sṛiśaila Rājya was ruled by one Chandraśēkharayya, son-in-law of Dēmarasa, that Sellappār Vīra Narasiṁha Nāyakar son of Taluvakkulaindan Bhaṭṭar was in charge of Chingleput district and that the Vinukonḍa sīma was under *Mahamaṇḍaleśvara* Alamandala Sarvayyadēva Chōḍa Mahārāja son of Yeṛṇayyadēva.

It further appears that a military officer by the name of Immaḍi Basavappa Oḍeyar granted a Village called Dannāyakpura for maintaining a water-trough for animals at Sogē in Bellary District. Even the poet-laureate Allasāni Peddana was the lord of Karivāchi Sīma in South Arcot District.<sup>20</sup>

The *Rāyavāchakamu* stops its chronicle of events with the Kalinga tour of Krishṇadēvarāya. It mentions the following generals and officers that were present at the coronation of Krishṇadēvaraya. Appāji, Ayyamarusu, Konḍamarusu, Bācharasu, Yellamarasu, Vīramarasu, Yellanna, Apparapillai Maṇṇārpillai, Rāyasam Rāmachandrayya, Bhāskarayya of the Treasury, Avasaram Venkatayya, Triambykayya, Lakshmipati, Tipparasu and Lingarasu. In the eastern campaign, Konḍayya (Konḍamarusu), was left in Konḍavidu, Bhāskarayya in Vinukonḍa, Vīrabhadrayya in Bellamkonda and Ayyalayya in Nāgārjunakonḍa. One Pemmasani Rāmalinga Naidu distinguished himself in the first campaign against the Mohammedans in A.D. 1512. According to the *Krishnarāya Charitram* he led the Vijayanagar forces to battle on the bank of the Krishna, against the Mohammedans.

18 *Ep Car* vol IX Bangalore No 19 *Ibid* XII Chiknayakaballi No. 37

19 *Ep Report* 1915-16 p. 142

20 *Ep Report* 1915-16 Page 148

At the coronation of Krishnarāya were also present Āravīti Bukkarāju, Sāluva Mēkarāju, the Śgīpatis, Būḍahāllis, Rachuri Timmaraju, Sangarāju, Velugōtīvaru, the chiefs of Nāndyāla, Owk and others. It is not possible to trace some of the names above referred to. The Kingdom of Vijayanagar, as referred to by Nuniz with reference to the reign of Achyutarāya, was divided into a number of principalities. Bācharusu seems to have been in Achutarāya's time in charge of a portion of the eastern territory conquered from the Gajapatis of Kalinga.<sup>21</sup>

A good deal of controversy centres about the eight poets in Krishnaraya's court called the *Ashṭadiiggajas*. The *Rāyavācchakamu* mentions three of them, Peddana, Timmana and Mallana. Chaturvēdi Rāmadīkshitolu, Krishnāvadhāni, Venkatarāmasāstri, Prabhakaraśāstri were some of the Pandits of Vijayanagar present at the coronation of Krishnadēvaraya. One Chandrayya was his instructor in *Nītiśāstra*. The copper plate inscriptions of the king mention one Sabhāpati as the composer and Viranācharya son of Mallanāchārya as the engraver. The king's Charioteer was Timmā and the city watcher was Jangamayya.

Sabhāpati the author of Krishnadēvarāya's copper plate inscriptions is said to be the maternal uncle of Arunagirinātha, the author of *Sōma-vālli Yojā and Prahasanam*. The *Ājaulhirāja parama* Viṇḍima, the author of *Sāluvābhyudayam* and *Āchylavābhyudayam* was the son of Arunagirinātha.<sup>22</sup>

21 Butter worth & Venugopāl Chetti; *Nellore Inscriptions*—Ongole No. 23 (1533—34 A.D.)

22 *Ep. Report* 1922—23.

## INDRABHATTARAKA AND THE GANGA ERA.

M. SOMASEKHARA ŚARMA.

In this Journal, while editing the Chīḍivalasa plates<sup>1</sup> of Dēvēndravarma, Mr. R. Subbarao has discussed at some length about the Kalinga Gāṅga Era. There are some apparent errors in what he has written, which mislead the readers, who do not know the subject, and further those errors pass on as trustworthy facts, not having been corrected up till now. So I propose here to review the whole question of the Gāṅga Era formulated by him.

Mr. Subbarao takes into consideration mainly the Synchronism, afforded by the Godāvāri plates<sup>2</sup> of Pṛithivīmūla, as the basis of the whole discussion. The particular passage that has got reference to this in that grant, runs as follows :

“शृताभिजनवृत्त सम्पत्प्रभाभासुरोदार पुरुषरत्नानिकर प्रसूतिहेतुप्रख्यात मणस्कु  
डि वास्तव्य द्विजात्यन्वयपायोधिसम्भूत शितरश्मे रसकृदवाम चतुर्दन्तसंग्रामविज  
यस्य मितवर्मणः प्रियतनयेन सरभसमिन्द्रभट्टारक समुत्पादनाभिलाषसमुदित प्रमुदित  
शेष नृपतिकृत तुमुलसमराधिरूढ मुप्रतीकानेकपाभिमुख समदकुमुदद्विरद निपातनाधि  
गत भुवनतल वितत विपुल शुद्धयशसा श्रीम दि न्द्रा धि रा जे न ...”

The veiled figurative expression—that Indrādhirāja, son of Mitavarma, who was the Moon that arose from the ocean of the twice-born family that inhabited the famous town of Maṇalkuḍi, who obtained victory with the four-tusked elephant *Chaturdanta* (of the eastern quarter), who overthrew the elephant *Kumuda* (of the south-western quarter), that came against the elephant *Supratika* (of the north-eastern quarter) mounted by him, in the tumultuous combat waged by all kings, that assembled together with the desire to uproot Indrabhattāraka, gives us to understand, as Dr. Fleet says, that Indrādhirāja of the north-eastern quarter, son of Mitavarma, who won in battle the king of the east, fought in company of other chiefs of the country who united to uproot a certain Indrabhattāraka, and conquered the king of the southern quarter (probably the same Indrabhattāraka, mentioned above). Dr. Fleet has taken this

1. *Ante* vol. II p. 146 ff.

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* vol. XVI. p 114 ff.



Indrabhaṭṭāraka to be the Eastern Chālukyan Indrabhaṭṭāraka, brother of Jayasimhavalabha I. and son of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana.<sup>3</sup> According to Prof. Dubreuil, he is identical with Indrabhaṭṭāraka, son of Vikramēndravarma, of the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty. Mr. Subbarao accepts Prof. Dubreuil's identification. While Dr. Fleet<sup>4</sup> and Mon. Dubreuil,<sup>5</sup> with some hesitation, identify Indrādhirāja of the Godāvari grant, with Indravarma alias Rājasimha of the Kalinga Gāṅga dynasty, Mr. Subbarao definitely takes him to be the same person. The whole discussion of Mr. Subba Rao about the Gāṅga Era is based on this synchronism and the date of Indrabhaṭṭāraka varma of the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty.

According to Mr. Subbarao the pedigree and the probable Chronology of the Vishṇukunḍins are as follows:

Mādhava I (*Probably ruled about 400 A. D.*)

↓  
Dēvavarma

↓  
Mādhavavarma II. (*Donor of Īpār plates, 1st Set*)

↓  
Gōvindavarma

↓  
Mādhavavarma III. (*Donor of Īpār plate, 2nd set; 37th year*)

↓  
Vikramēndravarma I.

↓  
Indrabhaṭṭāraka or Indravarma (*Donor of Rāmatīrtham plates  
27th year; probably ruled from 525 to 555 A.D.*)

↓  
Vikramēndravarma II. (*Donor of the Chikkulūr plates; 10th year*)

Mr. Subba Rao writes about the date of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarma thus:

"Now taking 400 as the closing date of the founder Mādhava-varma I and granting an average of 25 years as the period of rule for every succeeding king, we get 525 A. D. as the date for the accession of Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the donor of the Rāmatīrtham plates."

As this was the same Indrabhaṭṭāraka, who was defeated by Indrādhirāja (of the north-eastern quarter), whom he identified with Indravarma of the Kalinga Gāṅga dynasty, whose dates are 87 and 91 of the Gāṅgēya Era, Mr. Subbarao is of opinion 'that the Gāṅgēya Era of 91st year, was started during the middle of the 5th century, i. e. 450 or 460 A.D.' He concludes from the above evidence that the Gāṅga Era, therefore, must have begun *about the middle of the fifth century*.

To understand fully the above question some knowledge of the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty is essential and we obtain that mainly through

3. *Ind. Ant.* vol. XX. p 97.

4. *Ibid.* vol. XIII. p 119 ff.

5. *Ancient History of the Deccan.* p 91

Copper plate records, which are only five in number, namely, i. Rāmatīrtham plates<sup>6</sup> of Indrabhattarakavarma; ii. Chikkulla plates<sup>7</sup> of Vikramēndravarma; iii. Īpūru plates<sup>8</sup> of Mādhavavarma; iv. Īpūru plates<sup>9</sup> of Mādhavavarma; and v. The Teṅgu Academy plates<sup>10</sup> of Mādhavavarma.

The Rāmatīrtham plates give the following geneology:

Mādhavavarma  
|  
Vikramēndravarma  
|  
Indrabhattarakavarma

These plates record that the last mentioned king granted the village of Pēruvātaka in Plaki vishaya to a brahman named Nagna Śarma, in his 27th regnal year. As this *vis'aya*, was known in later times as Prakki or Pakkirāshṭra, and formed part of the present Vizagapatam district, Mr. Subbarao thinks that Puranisamgama Vāsaka, from which these plates were issued, might be in the same Vizagapatam district.

Chikkulla plates give one more generation. According to these pedigree is as follows:

Mādhavavarma  
|  
Vikramēndravarma I.  
|  
Indrabhattarakavarma  
|  
Vikramēndravarma II.

The last mentioned king, who issued the ~~from~~ Dendulūru Vāsaka, which was identified with the present Dendulūru, near Ellore, West Godavari district, granted the village Rēgonḍa, to the south of Rāvirēṇu, on the bank of the river Krishṇa-Bēṇṇā (Krishṇa), to Sōmagiriśvaranātha in the 10th year of his reign.

The First set of Īpūru plates supply three generations of kings, as shown below:

Mādhavavarma I.  
|  
Dēvavarma  
|  
Mādhavavarma II.

Mādhavavarma II. issued this grant from Amarapura, in his 37th regnal year. This city has not been yet correctly identified, but the late

6. *Ep. Ind.* vol. XII. p. 133 ff.

7. *Ibid.* vol. IV. p. 193 ff.

8. *Ibid.* vol. XVII. p. 337 ff; *C.P.* No. 11 of 1919-1920.

9. *Ibid.* vol. XVII. p. 334 ff; *C.P.* No. 12 of 1919-20.

10. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. XI. p. 31 ff; *C.P.* No. 7 of 1993-1914; *Bhārati* 1930-31.

Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao threw out a doubtful suggestion that this might be Amarāvati in the Gunṭūr district.

The Second set of Īpūru plates supply us with only two generations of kings, as shown below :

Gōvindavarma  
|  
Mādhavavarma

This Mādhavavarma grants the that lage of Viḷembali, to Agni Śarma of the Vatsa *gotra*, in his 37th regnal year. The executor of the grant was Mañchūṇa bhaṭṭārka, the son of the donor, Mādhavavarma.

Lastly we have the Telugu Academy plates, which yield the following genealogy.

Vikramēndravarma  
|  
Gōvindavarma  
|  
Mādhavavarma.

The last mentioned king Mādhavavarma granted, in his 48th regnal year, the village of Pulombūru in the Guddavādi *vishaya* to Śiva Śarma, son of Dāma Śarma, and grandson of Rudra Śarma, of Gautama *gotra* and a resident of Kuṇḍūra<sup>11</sup> in Karmarāshṭra.

Now we have to connect all the pedigrees, supplied by these various plates into one connected genealogy. The question now arises : in which order are they to be linked ? As for the pedigrees, supplied by the Rāmatirtham and Chikkuḷḷa plates there is no difficulty at all. Similarly there is not much difficulty in linking together the pedigrees, supplied by the second set of Īpūru plates and the Telugu Academy plates. Now there are *four* Mādhavavarmas in all (two in the First Set of Īpūru plates and one in each of the Chikkuḷḷa and the Telugu Academy plates). The question is one of identification. Who is to be identified with whom ? This is not as difficult as it seems to be.

Another synchronism is supplied by the Pulombūru grant<sup>12</sup> of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha vallabha I. a son of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana I. who ruled from 633 to 666 A. D. This Chalukyan

11. Mr. Subbarao reads this as Kunduka, which is obviously wrong.

12. This grant was edited by Mr. Subba Rao in this Journal (*ante*, vol. IV p 72 f f.) and by Mr. V. Rangachari, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIX. p. 254 ff. with titles "The Pulimbūru plates of the Chalukya king Jayasimha" and "The Pulibūmra plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Jayasimha I. respectively."

king, confirmed, in his 5th year,<sup>13</sup> the village of Pulombūru,<sup>14</sup> which was formerly granted by the Vishnukūṇḍin Mādhavavarma of the Telugu Academy plates, to Rudra Śarma, son of Śiva Śarma and grandson of Dāma Śarma, of Gautama, *gotra*. In this grant, Rudra Śarma was styled as *Pārvāgrahārika*, meaning thereby, one who was in the enjoyment of the *agrahāra* formerly. In Rudra Śarma's father Śiva Śarma and grandfather Dāma Śarma, we can recognise the donee and his father of the

\* 23. Mr. Subba Rao reads this numerical symbol, as 4 representing the year, in which the grant was made (*Vide* p 76). In the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1913, in the review portion of this grant, the year for which this symbol stands, was given as 15. Both the readings are wrong. This Symbol stands for 5 and not for either 4 or 15. It is curious how Mr. Rangachari omits this portion, concerning the date, entirely; there is mention of the year only and the rest is omitted both in the *Epigraphical Report* and in Mr. Subba Rao's text. The omitted portion, contains numerical symbols, which I read as "gi (grī?) 8 ½ di 7 ½". According to late Mr. Lakshmanarao 'di' is=100, which I think is wrong.

14. Mr. Subba Rao, in his review of these plates, mentions the village granted as Polamūru in its present form, but not in the form as found in the inscription. But in another place, he mentions it as Pulimbūru; while reading it as Pulibūmra in the text. Mr. Rangachari, in the review proper (on page 255) mentions the name of the village as Pulibūmra, with Pulebūru perhaps as its probable variation in brackets. But curiously enough, in the text of the inscription, he reads it as Pulobūmra and in the translation he gives it as Pulibūmra: so many bewildering, though interesting variations of the same word! In the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy (sic) for the year 1913-1914, in which this grant was reviewed, the name of this village was read as Pulebūmra (Pulebūru). Late Mr. K. Lakshmanarao reads this as Pulumbūru. None of the above readings are correct in my opinion. The correct reading is Pulombūru and not Polumburu or Pulibūmra or Pulibūmra.

The form 'li' may be found in the same grant in 23rd line in 'pālita'. The dot representing the anuswara, which is above 'bu' should go with 'lo' but not with 'bu'. In Ancient Telugu inscriptions the *anusvāra* that should go with the preceeding letter is generally placed above the succeeding letter for this reason. Pulombūru is the ancient Telugu spelling, of Polamūru, with the labial 'm' placed above 'bu'. In the evolution of the Telugu orthography the nasals and labials were gradually dropped and their place was taken first by dots and then by *anusvāras*. So in later days whenever the nasal or labial occurred in conjunction with any letter of its own varga, its place was shown by a dot. Thus the dot over 'bu' in 'Pulombūra' go must be taken to with 'lo'.

Telugu Academy plates of Vishṇukunḍins Mādhavavarma. From this it is clear that after the Vishṇukunḍins, the Chalukyas conquered Vēngi. Late Mr. K. V. Lakshmaṇa Rao discussed this question thoroughly, and fixed the date of the Telugu Academy grant as 594 A.D.,<sup>15</sup> which would be the 48th regnal year of Mādhava varma, the donor of the plates, and came to the conclusion that this Mādhavavarma of the Telugu Academy plates and his son Mañchappa Bhaṭṭāraka were defeated either by Pulakēsin II. or his brother Kubja Vishṇuvardhana I. Thus he gave 610 A. D. as the probable last date of Mādhavavarma III. Taking this as the basis, he fixes approximately the chronology of the kings, mentioned in this grant as follows, allotting 25 years as the the period of rule for each king, unless otherwise known to have ruled for a greater period.

Vikramēndravarma 496-521 A. D.

Gōvindavarma 521-546 A. D.

Mādhavavarma III. 546-610 A. D.

Thus, it is not possible to place Indrabhaṭṭāraka after Vikramēndravarma of the Telugu Academy plates, and Mr. Subba Rao's date for Indrabhaṭṭāraka becomes quite untenable.

Now, there is Vikramēndra varma, son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka<sup>a</sup> (according to the Chikkuḷla plates) and father of Gōvindavarma (according to the Telugu Academy plates.) This Vikramendra varma of both the abovementioned Sets may, therefore, be taken to be one and the same person. If we link the pedigrees in this manner, we have to take Mādhavavarma of the Chikkuḷla plates to be Mādhava varma II of the first set of Ipūru plates. Then the geneology of the Vishṇukunḍins can be arranged as follows:

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15. Here is what Mr. Lakshmanarao says about the date of this grant: "The plates give the lunar eclipse on the full moon day of the month of Phālguna as the occasion for the grant (ll. 25-7). In the years 575, 593, 594, 612 and 621 of the Christian era lunar eclipses occur in the month of Phālguna. Of these I reject the first as being too early a date for the 48th year of the reign of a king who must have been defeated by Kubja Vishṇuvardhana or his brother Pulakesin II. I reject the last (621) as being too late a date for a king, who was apparently defeated by Pulakesin at the beginning of the seventh century, about 610 A.D. We know that Kubja Vishṇuvardhana had declared independence about 616 A.D. Of the three remaining dates, it so happens that the lunar eclipses in 593 and 612 were not visible in India, as these occurred at a time when the sun was above the horizon in India. Thus we hit upon 594 as the only possible date on which Madhavavarma could have issued this grant. The 10th day of February 594 A. D. is then in all probability the day on which, this grant was issued".

•  
 Mādhava varma I.  
 |  
 Dēvavarma  
 |  
 Mādhavavarma II.  
 |  
 Vikramēndra varma I.  
 |  
 Indrabhattāraka varma  
 |  
 Vikramēndravarma II.  
 |  
 Gōvindavarma  
 |  
 Mādhavavarma III.  
 |  
 Mañchanna bhattāraka

In accordance with this, we have to reject Mr. Subbarao's geneology of the Vishṇukundins as inconsistent.

• Even taking the geneology as supplied by him, to be correct, his chronology and the starting point of the Gāṅga Era are also faulty. He places Mādhavavarma I. about 400 A.D. Even assuming 400 A.D. to be the closing date of the founder Mādhavavarma I, the date of accession of Indrabhattāraka varma cannot be 525 A. D. As the copper plate records of the Vishṇukundin kings supply 37 years to Mādhavavarma II, 27 years to Indrabhattārakavarma, and 18 years to Mādhavavarma III. we have to allot to the other kings this same period of reign if not more instead of 25 years. Then the chronology may be arranged as follows:

Mādhavavarma I. 400 A.D.  
 |  
 Dēvavarma. 400—425 A. D.  
 |  
 Mādhavavarma II. 425—462 A.D.  
 |  
 Gōvindavarma. 462—487 A.D.  
 |  
 Mādhavavarma III. 487—535 A. D.  
 |  
 Vikramēndravarma I. 535—560 A. D.  
 |  
 Indrabhattārakavarma. 560—587 A. D.  
 |  
 Vikramēndravarma II. 587—612 A. D.

Thus Indrabhattāraka's accession would have taken place in 560 A. D. and not in 525 A. D. As his gran. supplies us with his 27th regnal year his period of rule would be from 560 to 587 A. D. or a little more even. If this last mentioned year, as Mr. Subbarao says, roughly corresponds to the 91st year of the Gāṅgēya Era, then its starting year would be 495-

496 A. D. or roughly at the closing period of the fifth century, but not during the middle of the fifth century, i.e. 450 A. D. And the starting point of the Gāṅga Era, 495—496 A.D. is not correct as it has been arrived at by following the above *wrong* geneology and chronology, and has, therefore, to be set aside. Thus the date of Indrabhaṣṭāraka of the Vishnukundin dynasty and the starting epoch of the Gāṅga Era, arrived at, by Mr. Subbarao cannot be maintained.

One thing remains and that is about the identification, of Indrādhirāja, mentioned in the Gōḍāvari plates of Prithivīmūla. Mr. Subbarao definitely takes him to be no other than Indrarāja alias Rāja simha of the Kaṭṅga Gāṅga dynasty, whose dates are 87 and 91 of the Gāṅga Era. This identification is wrong and cannot stand the test of criticism as we shall presently see,

So far we have only three sets of plates of the Kaṭṅga Gāṅga king Indravarma, with whom Indrādhirāja of the Gōḍāvari plates has been identified. The first set is the Achyutāpuram plates;<sup>16</sup> the second is the Santa bommalī plates<sup>17</sup> and the third is the Parlākimeḍi plates,<sup>18</sup> issued in the 87th,<sup>19</sup> and 91st years of the Gāṅga Era respectively. All the three grants give him the title Rājasimha and all these were written by Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra.

There is another grant, written by the same scribe Vinayachandra, having for its date 80 of the Gāṅga Era. This is of Hastivarman,<sup>20</sup> the Kaṭṅga Gāṅga king, who also bears the title Rājasimha. From this, it may be concluded that Hastivarman was, as given in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1920 (*pag* 196, *para* 3), perhaps the immediate predecessor of Indravarma alias Rājasimha and might have been also his own father, as is shown in the very same Kaṭṅga Gāṅga geneology (*on page* 163) tentatively formulated by Mr. Subba Rao. When Mr. Subba Rao himself takes this Indravarma of the 87th and 91st years of the Gāṅga Era to be the son of Hastivarman of the 80th year of the Gāṅga Era, I have the least objection to accept his identification. But in such a case, how could this Indrarāja, son of Hastivarman of Kaṭṅganagara, his immediate predecessor, be identified with Indrādhirāja son of Mitavarman of Maṇal-kuḍi of the Gōḍāvari plates? Neither in the earlier nor in the later Kaṭṅga Gāṅga geneologies do we find the name of Mitavarman. The Kaṭṅga Grants do not give Mitavarman, even as an alias of Hastivarman. Hence the identification of Indrādhirāja with Indravarma, alias Rāja simha of Kaṭṅga is utterly baseless and untenable.

<sup>16</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. III p. 127 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ante* vol. IV p. 21 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVI p. 131 ff

<sup>19</sup> The numerical symbol representing 'Jyeshtha divasa' was misread as 10 by the editor of this grant Sree Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev Raja Bahadur garu. The correct reading is 30.

<sup>20</sup> *Ep. Ind.* vol. XVII p. 833 ff *C.P.* No. 3 of 1919—1920 and *Andhrapatrika*

## LITERARY GLEANINGS NO. XI.

### IDENTITY OF SURESVARA.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

- १ “प्रसिद्धं हि तस्य द्वेषाद्भाषणं कन्थां वहति दुर्बुद्धे इत्यादि । एक एवास्य कृतप्रयत्नः  
स्यापि परमहंसद्वेषं शास्त्रे चाकौशलमुन्नीय काश्मीरकपण्डितैर्न ग्रन्थो निबद्धः । किं च  
प्रसिद्धाप्रवाक्यैर्विश्वरूपप्रभाकरगुरुमण्डन वाचस्पति सुचारितमिश्रैः शिष्टाप्रणीभिः परि  
गृहीतस्य कथं द्वेषमोहाभ्यां विनापलापसंभवः” । (न्यायरत्नदीपावली—३.)
- २ “ननु विश्वरूपप्रभाकरौ भक्तपक्षपतितौ । तावप्येकदण्डिनौ प्रसिद्धौ । एवं तर्हि तादृश  
स्सन्यासस्तत्प्रमाणश्च नापलापमर्हति । न हि तादृशाः सर्वज्ञकल्पाः स्वपुरुषार्थनाशे  
बुद्धिपूर्वं प्रवर्तन्ते । गृहस्थावस्थायां विरचिते विश्वरूपग्रन्थे दर्शितवाक्यपरिमहा  
दृश्यते । न चासौ ग्रन्थः सन्यासिना विरचितः तथा हि परिव्राजकाचार्यं सुश्रेष्ठ  
विरचितेति नाम लिखेत् । लिखितं तु भट्टविश्वरूपविरचितेति । तस्मात्प्रसिद्ध शिष्ट  
परिगृहीतयोर्मलय हिमालयादिनिलय विद्वदुपासितयोर्वाक्य तदर्थयोर्द्वेषमात्रान्न विव  
दितव्यम्” ॥ (न्यायरत्नदीपावली—३)
- 3 Ānandagiri's Commentary on the second quotation.  
एवं तर्हीति । किं च गार्हस्थ्ये स्थित्वैव निबन्धनिर्माणान्न विश्वरूपाचार्ये पक्षपाता  
शङ्केत्याह गृहस्थेति । विश्वरूपमिबन्धनस्यापि कथं गृहस्थ विरचितत्वं तत्राह न चेति ।  
सति नामान्तरे प्राचीननाम्ना सन्यासिनां ग्रन्थनिर्माणादप्येत्यर्थः । भट्टविश्वरूपविर  
चितनामाङ्कितस्तु प्रत्यभ्यायं तन्निबद्धस्तत्र तत्रोपलभ्यते । अतो गृहस्थावस्थायामेव  
तन्निर्माणान्न पक्षपाताशङ्केत्याह लिखितन्विति ।

In one of the Literary Gleanings passages leading to the identity of Surēśvara with Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa were given and an attempt was made to show that Surēśvara was known as Viśvarūpa when he was a *grhastā*. It was also doubted whether he was same as Maṇḍana.

A passage in Ānandānubhava's *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* with its commentary by Ānandagiri is pertinent to the point while it throws a flood of light on other matters which may entertain curiosity of critics,



*Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* may be distinguished from *Nyāyadīpāvalī* of Ānandabōdha commented upon by Ānandagiri. Ānandānubhava is a different author from Ānandabōdha.<sup>1</sup> Ānandagiri states in his commentary on *Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī* that he wrote his work under the Kalinga king Nṣimha probably at the *Sankara Matha* at Jagannātha.<sup>2</sup> His spiritual preceptor was Śudhānanda and Vijñānātman while Chitsukhāchārya also studied under the former of the two. Ānandagiri is generally assigned to A.D. 1200: hence Ānandānubhava and also Ānandabōdha must have lived at least half a century prior to Ānandagiri. Ānandabōdha seems to have flourished earlier than Ānandānubhava. The latter is the author of two more works *Padārthartatva* and a commentary on *Iṣṭasiddhi*; the former of the two is a treatise on the categories of *Vaiśeṣikas* as defined by the *Vēdāntins*. *Iṣṭasiddhi* was written by Vimuktātman who alludes to Surēśvara. Ānandānubhava was a pupil of Nārāyaṇa-Jyōtish-pūjyapāda of whom nothing is known. He mentions Maṇḍana, Vāchaspati, Prabhākara, Kumārila, Śucharitamiśra, Ānandabōdha and other ancient writers. His probably is the earliest mention of Sucharita Miśra, one of the commentators on *Śīlokavārītā*

The passage in question read with the commentary reveals a number of points worthy of note:—

(i) that Viśvarūpa and Prabhākara<sup>3</sup> both became *Sanyāsins* of *Ēkadanḍin* class and they were honoured by the learned men living

1. Ānandabōdha a pupil of Ātmavāsa, wrote a commentary on *Śābdanirṇayadīpikā* of Prakāśātman. The commentary is known by the name of *Nyāyadīpikā*. Chitsukha, a contemporary of Ānandagiri commented upon the works of Ānandabōdha. Ānandānubhava is different from any of these writers and also must be distinguished from Ānandārāya, teacher of Jñānāmṛta, a commentator on *Naishkarmyasiddhi*. Ānandagiri is a voracious writer on *Vedānta*, *Tripurāvivaraṇa*, *Upasadanavyākhyā*, *Ātmajñāna vyākhyā*, *Harimēdevyākhyā*, *Upādhikhaṇḍana* among his works, are also available. The last work was noticed by Vāḍindra. Ānandānubhava was identified with Gangāpuri in the introduction to *Tarkasaṅgraha* which is not warranted by the facts in our possession.

२ कलिङ्गदेशाधिपतौ नरेन्द्रे भुवं प्रशासत्यमरेन्द्रनुत्ये ।

नृसिंहदेवे जगदेकवीरे नरोत्तमेऽकारि मया निबन्धः ॥ तर्कविवेक VI

This statement of Ānandagiri supports the opinion that he lived at Jagannātha in Kalinga country and not at Dvārakā as asserted in the preface of *Tarkasaṅgraha* of Ānandagiri.

3 It is doubted whether Kumārila, against tradition assumed *sanyasa* for a passage in Jñānāmṛta's commentary on *Naishkarmyasiddhi* leads to that conclusion

“‘मृदितकाषायानामैवैतत् कथनीयं,’ ‘विदुषि नोत्तरं देयम्,’ ‘आनुमानिको निरस्तः,’ इत्यादिना स्वरूपमेव भेदो वस्तुनो न वस्तुव्यतिरेकेण भेदोऽस्ति...तान् प्रत्यभ्यक्तमेवेति

between "the Himalayas and the Malaya" that is, throughout India, (ii) that Viśvarūpa wrote his work in which he describes rules for *Sanyāsārama* while he was still a *grhastha*, (iii) that his name was changed to Surēśvara when he became a *sanyāsin*. This reference clearly establishes that Viśvarūpa became Surēśvara. The statement that Maṇḍana was the same as Viśvarūpa as mentioned in Śankara-vijaya ascribed to Vidyāranya is negatived by the first part of the passage in which Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa are spoken of as two different persons.

The identity of Umbēka either with Maṇḍana or Viśvarūpa may attract some notice. In *Śankaravijaya* Maṇḍana is used as another name for Viśvarūpa and Umbēka. This synonymous nomenclature was not used by any other writer who wrote on the life of Śankara. Chidānanda in his *Śankaravijaya* says that, Śankara won over Viśvarūpa and made him a *Sanyāsin*, bestowing on him the name of Surēśvara. Vyāsachala relates the same account. Umbēka is nowhere mentioned as a synonym of Maṇḍana or Viśvarūpa except in Vidyāranya's *Śankaravijaya*. In one of our *Gleanings* Umbēka was identified with Bhavabhūti. The identification of Bhavabhūti with Viśvarūpa rests only on two pieces of evidence.<sup>4</sup> Both the commentators on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* state that Bhavabhūti, Viśvarūpa and Surēśvara are the names of one man who wrote a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* called *Bālakṛiḍā*.

From evidence of style Maṇḍana, Umbēka and Viśvarūpa must be treated as entirely different persons; for all the works of Maṇḍana are written in terse difficult style. His vocabulary is highly technical. He allows no humour to mar the seriousness of his arguments. He is very vehement especially in his attacks on Prabhākara whose general humour combined with his mastery of tongue far surpasses any of his rivals with the probable exception of Śankara. Umbēka writes in easy graceful style. His attacks are couched in mild and precise language. Viśvarūpa or Surēśvara shows less command over the language but is more vehement than

मुक्त्वान्यत्प्रतिसिद्धान्तां दर्शयति । परमहंसाश्रमानुष्ठानपूर्वं ममलाग्रन्थे भट्टाचार्याः  
'पुनः प्रयाति वेदान्तनिषेवणेन' इत्यादिना मुक्तकमुक्तवन्तः" (*Ślokarārtikā*)

Tradition has so strongly possessed our credence that we cannot accept the above statement without further corroboration.

4 (a) यत्प्रसादादयं लोकौ धर्ममार्गं स्थितः सुखी ।

भवभूति सुरेशाल्यं विश्वरूपं प्रपास्यतम् ॥

Bālakṛiḍāvyaṅkhyā.

(b) भवभूतिनिबन्धनोदयौ तिभिभीमप्रतिवादके गुरोः ।

सकटाक्षनिरीक्षणः पतितं मामयमुद्धरिष्यति ॥

Vachanamālā, (another

commentary on Viśvarūpa's Bālakṛiḍā)

Umbēka in his attacks on Prabhākara an older writer on *Sāṅkhya* and *Vedānta*. These differences stand out in bold relief against their identity.<sup>5</sup>

No attempt to establish the identity of Surēśvara will be complete if the statement found in *Śaṅkaravijaya* that Maṇḍana became Surēśvara is not properly explained. Why should the author of *Śaṅkaravijaya*, be he Vidyāranya or anybody else, identify Viśvarūpa and Maṇḍana and give a poetic colour to philosophical conquest of Sankara? Works of Maṇḍana and Surēśvara have many common thoughts, 'arguments, and even expressions. If their identity is denied similarity in thought and expression may border upon Surēśvara's 'plagiarism as he lived a few decades later than Maṇḍana. It may particularly be noted that a series of arguments in *Sambandhavārtikā* of Surēśvara appears to be mere paraphrase in verse of the second and third chapters of Maṇḍana's *Brahmasiddhi*. In two or three places common verses occur without any alteration.<sup>6</sup> This commonness prompted later readers to identify them

5 Maṇḍana is a supporter of Bhartṛhari in *Subalabrahmavāda*. He says in his *Brahmasiddhi*,<sup>(1)</sup> “सर्वं ज्ञेयं वाग्रूपान्वितं गम्यत इति तद्विकारस्त द्विवर्तो वा”  
(2) “सर्वप्रत्ययवेद्ये वा ब्रह्मरूपे व्यवस्थिते । प्रपञ्चस्य प्रविलयः शब्देन प्रतिपाद्यते” ॥

Bhartṛhari's *vivarta* theory was adopted by some old Mīmāṃsā writers as Brahmanandin, who in his commentary on chapter VI. says,

“तथा च ब्रह्मनन्दी वर्णिताधिकारिदृश्यपेक्षया षष्ठेऽध्याये विवर्तमेव विदांचकार”.

Amṛtānanda, Maṇḍana, and Brahmanandi appear to follow Bhartṛhari in their *vivarta* theory.

6 Compare the following:—

(1) In *Brahmasiddhi*. Tarkakāṇḍa, *vṛtti* under the fifth *śloka* read:

भेदः परस्परानात्मस्वभावः स चेद्वस्तुनः स्वभावः, वस्तूनामभावप्रसङ्गः ।

Vartika—वस्तुनो भेदरूपत्वे वस्त्वभावः प्रसज्यते । (931)

(2) Maṇḍana—पौरुषेयीमपेक्षां च न हि वस्त्वनुवर्तते ।

पिबादिविषयेऽपेक्षा जननादिप्रभाविता ॥

एकक्रियाविशेषण व्यपेक्षा ह्रस्वदीर्घयोः ।

अर्थक्रियाकृते भेदे रूपभेदो न लभ्यते ।

दाहपाकविभागेन कृशानुर्न हि भेदवान् ॥

Surēśvara—सत्त्वं वस्तु कथं भिन्नात्पुण्यपेक्षाविनिर्मितः ।

भेदः पुत्रादिभावेतु जन्यत्वं वस्तुकल्पितम् ।

दाहपाकप्रकाशादिभेदेऽप्यग्नेरभिज्ञता ।

कार्यतोऽपि न भेदः स्याद्वस्त्वभेदव्यवस्थितः (936—7)

instead of attributing plagiarism to Surēśvara. Unless proper explanation is sought to justify the commonness, it will still be a strong argument in favour of their identity. *Sambandhavārtikā* was meant as an introduction by Surēśvara to his versified commentary on Śankara's *Bṛhadāraṇyabhāshya*. The subject matter of this introduction is not found in Śankara's *Bhāshya*. It extends over 1500 verses. What was the occasion for such a long preface? It is veritably a severe attack on Prabhākara and Bhartṛiprapancha. Maṇḍana frequently indulged in it. The third chapter of his *Brahmasiddhi* which forms more than half the work is devoted to destroy the *Niyōga* theory of Prabhākara.<sup>7</sup> Against this attack Prabhā-

(3) Maṇḍana—यथैव भिन्नशक्तीनामभिन्नं रूपमाश्रयः ।

तथैव नानाक्रियाहेतुरूपं किं नाभ्युपेयते ॥

• Surēśvara—विभिन्नकार्यकत्रीणां शक्तीनां यद्वदाश्रयः ।

न विरुद्धोऽग्निरेकोपि तद्वत्कार्येऽपि किं न ते ॥ (958)

• (4) Maṇḍana—न खलु प्रमाणान्तरसंभित्तिर्यमपि वचो न प्रमाणं, प्रमाणमेव ह्यस्य

Surēśvara—मानान्तरेणापि संबद्धमर्थं वाक्यं प्रबोधयत् । [वाक्यम् । (III).

मानतां न जहात्येव जगत्याप्रवचो यथा ॥ (703)

(5) Maṇḍana—अस्तु वा मानयोग्यत्वं सत्त्वं तच्च प्रतीयते ।

तथापि वस्तुपरता नागमस्य विहन्यते ॥ (III—51)

Surēśvara—यदापि मानयोग्यत्वं सत्त्वं तच्च प्रतीयते ।

तदापि वस्तुपरता नागमस्य विहन्यते ॥ (705)

(6) Maṇḍana—तस्यैवमनुमेयत्वे कथं शब्दैकगोचरः ।

तस्यापि शब्दपूर्वत्वादानुमानैकगोचरः ॥

कस्मान्न शब्दबोधोऽपि ह्यनुमानपुरस्सरः ।

नेदं प्रथमतालभ्या बीजाङ्कुरवदेतयोः

शब्दाद्गोष्ठ्यानुमानं सर्वस्यैव पुरः स्थितम् ॥ (III—80, 81)

Surēśvara—संबन्धं मन्यते योऽपि शाब्दबोधानुसारिणीम् ।

दृष्टोऽहं श्रोत्रगां सोऽपि न सम्यगभिधीयते

श्रोतृस्थकार्यलिङ्गत्वादिति चेल्लिङ्गपूर्वतः

कस्मान्न शब्दबोधोऽपि ह्यनुमानपुरस्सरः ।

नियोगशब्दतो बुद्ध्वा योऽपि श्रोता प्रवर्तते ।

तस्याप्यनुमितेरेव शब्दार्थप्रत्ययो भवेत् ॥ (73—9)

<sup>7</sup> The *niyoga* interpretation of *Bhāshya* appears to have been in vogue long before Prabhākara, as evidence by Bhartṛihar's *vṛtti* or *Vakypadya*. It had opponents among *niyayikas* and Prabhākara probably re-stated it on a sounder basis;

kara and Śālikanātha, his pupil and commentator on his works, denounce the *Bhāṭṭa* interpretations on *Sābara-Bhāṣya*, of which school, Maṇḍana was then the leader. In reply to these attacks Surēśvara had to write his preface in which repeating all the arguments of Maṇḍana, supplements his own, to defeat Śālikanātha. This phase of development was long forgotten by later scholars who were separated from the real combatants by several centuries and they were naturally reluctant to attribute plagiarism to Surēśvara and imagined his identity with Maṇḍana. It is not uncommon among Śāstric writers to incorporate or modify portions of thought or expression of their predecessors. Bhōja's *Śrngāraprakāśa* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* and a host of writers in *Darśanas* adopt this mode of writing. Every śāstric writer firmly believes and says that he simply explains or summarises what his master or predecessors said. Sense of one's originality and self-authority are, only the modern traits leading to the doctrines of plagiarism.

Prabhākara was for some centuries at least as great as Surēśvara. His powerful arguments stood in the way of every theorist who could not establish himself unless he defeated Prabhākara's theories. The passage quoted by Ānandānubhava sufficiently proclaims equality of reputation enjoyed by Prabhākara and his rival Surēśvara. One more instance may be adduced in this connection to maintain the same fact. In the middle of a *Malabar Manuscript*, a single leaf apparently containing the beginning of a *Veitānta* work was found. The first verse devoted to the praise of the *Guru* of the author runs thus :—

प्रपञ्चपृथ्वीधर भेदतत्परः सदादृतन्याय सहस्रदर्शनः ।

गुरुप्रियो यः सुमनोभिरीडितः सुरेश्वद्भाति गुरुं नमामि तम्॥

There is a tripple entendre in the verse. Prabhākara and Surēśvara are saluted, the third sense comparing them to Indra. Prapañcha and Prithvīdhara mentioned therein are probably *Bhedābhēlavādin*s whom Surēśvara criticises in his *Vārtikā* and the latter as a writer, on Philosophy is occasionally referred to. *Vyāyasahasradarśana* means Mīmāṃsa in which both Surēśvara and Prabhākara were specialists. Reference to Indra is only a poetic device negligible in historic estimate.

In *Nājāyaratnadīpavalī* an occasion for mentioning Viśvarūpa and Prabhākara arose in the course of a discussion whether *tridāndasanyasa* was sanctioned by the śāstras. Passages were cited from various works by Ānandānubhava in course of which Viśvarūpa's commentary on *Yājñavalkya-sūti* called *Bālakrīḍā* was cited. The citations are found in the commentary now available in print. Besides the reference to *Bālakrīḍā* Ānandānubhava mentions a commentary on *Kauṣītaka-sūtra* as of equal authority which from the context in coupling the names of Prabhākara and Viśvarūpa seems to have been written by Prabhākara.

# THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA\*

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.,

## Chapter I.

### SOURCES EXAMINED.

*Foreign and Indigenous literatures. Inscriptions on copper plates, stones and coins. Archaeological remains.*

KALINGA is one of the oldest countries in India and references to it are found in Epics, *Purāṇas*, *Sūtras* and works of classical writers like Pliny, Ptolemy and Arrian who derived their knowledge probably from *The Indica* of Megasthenes. Inscriptions on stones and copper plates also allude to it. The country is apparently named after the tribes of Kalingas that lived therein. In *Mahābhārata*, we get references made to the Kalingas three times, on each occasion in the company of different tribes. The Sanskrit name *Trikalinga* probably refers to the three tribes amongst the Kalingas. In the great war of the *Mahābhārata*, these tribes fought most heroically on the side of the Kurus as against the Pāṇḍavas but were defeated. One of these three tribes seems to be the Gāṅgas or the Gāṅga Kalingas and the earliest reference to them is found in the works of classical writers whose statements are based on Megasthenes's *Indika*. About B.C. 295 Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus Nicator as an envoy to Chandragupta Maurya, at whose court in Pātāliputra (modern Pāṭna) he lived and wrote his famous work which unfortunately was lost but from while extracts were taken and published by Pliny, Arrian and others. Quintus Curtius Rufus, in his History of Alexander the Great<sup>1</sup> tells us that Alexander learnt from prince Bhagala that on the further bank of the Ganges lived two great nations, the *Gangaridai* and the *Prasii* (Prāchya = Eastern) whose king Agrammes (Xandrames = Sandrpkottos) kept in the field for guarding his country, 20,000 cavalry and as much infantry besides 2000 four horsed chariots and 3000 elephants. This account of the military strength was confirmed by Porus who also stated that the then king was of the very meanest origin, his father being a barber. So, though Alexander exhorted the troops to march against the land of the Gangarides and Prasii, the army refused

\* The writer of the article has edited for the Society in Telugu a work called *Kalingadesacharitra* (850 pp Price Rs' 7—8—0) and one of his contributions to it deals with the History of the Eastern Gangas. In a series of articles the writer hopes to publish some of the chapters of his work relating to that dynasty.

1 *Mc Crindle's Ancient India its invasion by Alexander the great* pp. 221-227

to move partly owing to fear and partly owing to aversion for further wars. Diqodoros Siculus in his *Bibliotheca Historica*<sup>2</sup> states that Alexander obtained from Phēgelas an account of the country beyond the Indus a desert and then the river Ganges and finally the dominion of the nation of the *Praisioi* and *Gandaridai*, whose king Xandrames had an army of 20,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 2000 chariots and 4000 elephants. Poros confirmed the account and added that the king of the *Gandaridai* was a worthless man being the son of a barber. Alexander exhorted his troops for the expedition against the *Gandaridai* but in vain.

Plutarch's life of Alexander<sup>3</sup> informs us that Alexander's army refused to advance to the Ganges because the kings of the *Gandaritai* and the *Praisiai* were reported to possess a very large army. So, Alexander erected altars for the gods which the kings of the *Praisiai* worshipped in Greek fashion. Androkottos (more correctly *Sandrakryptos* or *Chandrapupta*) then a youth saw Alexander and afterwards declared that he would have easily defeated him as he was hated by his subjects on account of the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin.

*McCrindle* gives the following account of the *Gangaridai*<sup>4</sup> :—

#### NOTE Cc.—THE GANGARIDAI

"This people occupied the country about the mouths of the Ganges, and may best be described as the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. The likeness of their name to that of the *Gandaridai*, the people of *Gandhāra*, whose seats were in the neighbourhood of the Indus and the *Kōphēn* or *Kābul* river, has been the source of much confusion and error. Fortunately the notice of them in the *Indica* of Megasthenes has been preserved both by Pliny and Solinus, from whom we learn that they were a branch of the great race of the *Calingae*, that their capital was *Parthalis* (*Bardwan?*), and that their king had an army of 60,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 700 elephants, which was always ready for action (Pliny. vi. 18; Solin. 52). They are mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* as a people who dwelt about the mouth of the Ganges and whose capital was *Gangē*. The name of the *Gangaridai* has nothing corresponding with it in Sanskrit, nor can it be, as Lassen supposed, a designation first invented by the Greeks, for Phegelas used it in describing to Alexander the races that occupied the regions beyond the *Hyphasis*. According to Saint-Martin, their name is preserved in that of the *Gonghrīs* of S. Bihār, with whom were connected the *Gangayīs* of North-Western and the *Gangrār* of Eastern Bengal. These designations he takes to be but variations of the name which was originally common to them all. Wilford, in his article on the chronology of the Hindus (*Asiat. Res.* v. p. 269), says that "the greatest part of Bengal

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* pp. 281—283.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* pp. 310—311.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* Note Cc.—The *Gangaridai* in the appendices pp. 361—365

was known in Sanskrit under the name of Gancaradesa, or 'country of Gancara,' from which the Greeks made Gangari-desā. But this view must be rejected on the same ground as Lassen's. The Gangaridai are mentioned by Virgil, *Georg.* iii. l. 27. As their king, at the time when Megasthenes recorded the strength of the army which he maintained was subject to Magadha, we may infer that Sandrocottos treated the various potentates who submitted to his arms as Alexander treated Taxiles and Pōros, permitting them to retain as his vassals the power and dignity which they had previously enjoyed."

From the above mentioned classical accounts, we learn that in Alexander's time (B. C. 325), the *Calinga Gangas* and the *Prāchyā Magadhas* were living along the whole valley of the river Ganges and they were ruled by Agramanes. The account given by them is confirmed by Jain *Parisista-parvan* and *Mahābhārata*.<sup>5</sup> The latter work called the first Nanda by the name of Ugraśēna and so his son Augrasainya Xandromanes might have been termed Agramanes by the classical writers.<sup>6</sup> The *Purāṇas* name the first Nanda as Mahāpadmananda and describe him as *Śādra-garbhodbhava* (born of Śūdra mother), *Sarva kṣatrāntaka* (destroyer of all the kṣatriyas) and *Ēkarā* or *Ēcacchatra* (Sole monarch of the whole earth).<sup>7</sup> Probably as pointed out by Pargiter<sup>8</sup> all the old kṣtriya dynasties which reigned from the time of the great Mahābhārata war to the end of the Śiśunaga rule (Aikṣvākus, Pāñchālas, Kāsis, Haihayas, Kalingas, Āśvakas, Kurus, Māithilas, Sūrasenas, Vītihōtras) were destroyed by the Nanda Emperor Mahāpadmananda whose title seems to be Ugrasena. His son Augrasainya was Dhana Nanda who may be identified with Agramanes of the classical accounts. It is thus clear that about B. C. 325 when Alexander subdued the Indus Valley, the Nandas were ruling over the various tribes of the Ganges Valley and in particular over the Gangarides or Ganga Calingas and, the Prasii or Magadhas. The Gāngas occupied Vanga but were subject to the rulers of Palibhotra or Pataliputra, viz, the Nandas and after them the Mauryas.

From the fragments of the Indika of Megasthenes collected by Dr. Schwanbeck, we learn that the Gāngaridai occupied the country lying between the rivers Ganges in the north and Damodar in the south and Magadha in the west and the Sea Coast in the east. Megasthenes was the envoy of Seleukos at the court of Sibyrtios, satrap of Arachosia and later on, was sent to Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Chandragupta Maurya about B.C. 300. He obtained most of his knowledge from the Brahmins who were the rulers (ministers) of the states. According to his account,<sup>9</sup> the Ganges flowed from North to South and emptied its

5 Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 140

6 *Ibid* p. 141 7 Pargiter's *Dynasties of Kali Age* p. 25

8 *Ibid* p. 23

9 *Ancient India by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 82.



waters into the ocean forming the *eastern* boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possessed a vast force of the largest sized elephants. Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king, for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals. Thus Alexander the Makedonian, after conquering all Asia, did not make war upon the Gangaridai as he did on all others; for when he had arrived with all his troops at the river Ganges, and had subdued all the other Indians he abandoned as hopeless an invasion of the Gangaridai when he learned that they possessed four thousand elephants well trained and equipped for war.

Pliny in his *Natural History* has described the Indian races and in the lower part of the valley of the Ganges he locates the Brachmanae "a name comprising many tribes, among which are the Macco calingae... The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea, and higher up are the Mandei and the Malli in whose country is Mount Mallus, the boundary of all that district being the Ganges. The final part of its course is said to be through the country of the Gangarides. The Royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1000 horseman and 700 elephants keep watch and ward in precinct of war". Thus the *Gangus* seem to be a branch of the Kalingas.

According to Pliny, another tribe called Modo Calingae occupied a large island in the Ganges, and beyond them lived several tribes chief among them being Andarae and Mandae. The distance from the mouth of the Ganges to cape Calingae and the town of Dandagula is said to be 625 miles (?). Another writer Solin, in his catalogue of Indian races states that the people living in the farthest part are the Gangarides whose king possesses 1000 horse, 700 elephants and 60000 foot. In the Ganges there was a populous island occupied by a powerful nation whose king had 50,000 foot and 4000 horse.

Diodorus Siculus who wrote his *Bibliothèque* in Rome during the time of Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus and who has given a general description of India and Alexander's Indian Campaigns states<sup>1</sup> that India was inhabited then by very many nations, 'amongst which the

10 *Ibid* Pp 133-139, Mc.Crindle identifies the *Macco Calingae* with Maghas of Kalinga, Magahars of Nepal, Maghyas of S.Bihar, Magras of Bengal, and Magors of Orissa. The *Modogalingae* are identified with people of Mada who lived close to Andhra. The *Gangaridae* or *Gangarides* occupied the region of lower Bengal and consisted of various indigenous tribes. At the time of Alexander's invasion they and the Prasii were considered too powerful to be attacked, M. de St. Martin thinks that these tribes were non-Aryan but gradually became aryanised. He thinks that the Goughirs of S. Bihar are the descendants of the *Gangaridae* and their town of Parthalis is the modern Burdwan. Ptolemy calls it Kalinganagara. The *Gangaridae* are mentioned by Virgil as being famous for elephants.

11 Vide p. 201 Ancient India by J. W. M'Crindle.

greatest was that of the Gandaridai (Gangaridai, the people of Bengal) against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of the elephants. This region was separated from farther India by the greatest river in those parts but it adjoins the rest of India which Alexander had conquered.

Regarding indigenous literature, there are works written recently which deal with the history of the Later Eastern Gangas and those too in an incorrect manner. One such work is the Sanskrit Kāvya known as *Gangavamsānucharitam*, composed by an Oriya poet known as Vasudeva Ratha Somayaji, the court poet of Sri Purushottama Deva of Gudarī Katak line who had his capital at Pratapagiri Vijayanagaram in Ganjam District and who lived in the beginning of the 18th century A.D. The author gives an incorrect geneological and chronological account of the Ganga kings who ruled at Katak and describes that first of all, 6 *Devas* ruled and then 6 *Nrsinhas* and finally 6 *Phānus*. All this account is opposed to the Epigraphical evidences now found. Though some of the traditional accounts mentioned therein regarding the origins of the Later Ganga and Gajapathi lines at Katāk appear to be true, other historical details regarding the order of kings and dates are wrong.

Recently, an Oriya prose chronicle called *Gangavamsāvali* has been discovered<sup>11-a</sup> but it gives the geneology of a branch of the Later Gangavamsi kings i.e., of the line of Parlakimidi.

The most important source, though much vitiated, is the *Mādālā Pāñji* chronicle kept in the Puri-Iaganath temple. Based on it, Stirling and Hunter and other historians have constructed their accounts which are therefore not very satisfactory. The *Mādālā Pāñji* was composed in Oriya at the end of the 16th century during the reign of Ramachandra Dev, the ruler of Khurda. So, the history of the kings mentioned therein since 3101 B.C. is not properly dealt with. The geneology and chronology of the Later Ganga kings mentioned therein are wrong, though a few germs of historical truth are found, here and there, in the Annals.

From all these accounts, it is clear that Kalinga was ruled over by the Early Ganga kings in the 7th century A.D. About the middle of that century, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Yuan Chwang visited the country and has left an account of the religious and social conditions of the kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Though he does not name the ruling king or dynasty, we have to note that his description relates to the Ganga rule over Kalinga. The discovery of several copper plate Inscriptions of the Early Ganga kings in Kalingadesa (Ganjam and Vijagapatam Districts) and the probability that they belong to the period extending from the beginning of the

11.a Vide J.A.H.R.S. vol. II pts. 2 & 4 pp 250—258

12 Vide Siyuki (Travels of Yuan Chwang) translated by Watters 2 vols,

6th century A. D. to the close of the 10th century A. D. would confirm the same conclusion.

The most important Sources for the Ganga history are four-fold:—

1. Epigraphical 2. Numismatic 3. Archaeological and 4. Literary.

1. The Epigraphical source is of two varieties:—

(a) Copper Plates (b) Stone Inscriptions.

(a) The copper plates of this dynasty which are so far discovered and which throw much valuable light on Ganga history and civilisation number nearly thirty and their dates vary from the year 28<sup>13</sup> to the year 526.<sup>14</sup> It has been correctly held by the writer who edited the grant of the year 28, that its donor was an Early Ganga king and that the year 28 relates to Ganga Era, because the engraver of the plate continuously engraved the plates of successive kings whose grants mention Gangavamsa and Ganga Era. The grant of the year 526 was briefly noticed in the Epigraphical report for 1918—1919 and it relates to Madhukāmaravadeva son of Anantavarma and is dated in Gāṅgēya Vamsa Pravarddhamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsara 526 (in 526 of the prosperous and victorious year of the rule of Gangas). In most of the grants, the Era of the Gangas is referred to and though at one time the solution of the problem of Ganga Era appeared to be hard, it is now settled<sup>15</sup> by the discovery of this record of 526 Ganga Era of Madhukāmarava who, I take it, is the predecessor of Anantavarma Vajrahasta whose coronation date is given in Saka year 960.

There are several copper plates of a later date belonging to both the Eastern and Western Ganga dynasties which relate the origin of the Gangas. These are the C. P. grants of Anantavarma Chodaganga dated Saka 1034 and 1040<sup>16</sup> which narrate the origin and early fortunes of the Gangas. But the account given in the grants of the western Gangas of Talkad about their origin would appear to be more trustworthy. There are also three C.P. grants of Narasimha II,<sup>17</sup> which give complete genealogy of the dynasty, and two Puri Plates of Narasimha IV,<sup>18</sup> the last but one king of the dynasty, which carry the genealogy still further.

There are several C.P. grants of Kadamba princes,<sup>19</sup> discovered in Kalinga, in which their names are mentioned in relation to the Ganga kings. These throw much light on the Ganga origin and administration.

<sup>13</sup> Vide the Tirlingi C.P. grant edited in J.A.H.R.S. vol. III pt. I pp 54—57

<sup>14</sup> Vide No. 3 in the list of C.P. grants found in A.R. of S.I. Ep. for 1918-19.

<sup>15</sup> Vide pp. 71—80 in Kalingadesa Charitra published by me.

<sup>16</sup> Vide Indian Antiquary vol 18 and J.A.H.R.S. vol 1 part 1. Also Mysore and Coorg by Lewis Rice p 30

<sup>17</sup> Vide Viswakosa vol 5 and Beng. As. Soc. J. vols LXXII and LXV

<sup>18</sup> Vide J As Soc Beng 1895 pp 128—154

<sup>19</sup> Vide pp 175—178 in J.A.H.R.S. vol III Pts. 2, 3, & 4

In addition to the C.P. grants of the Eastern and Western Gangas and Kadambas, those granted by kings of contemporary dynasties e.g. the Vishnukundins, the Eastern Chalukyas, the Chedi Kalachuris and the Cholas throw a flood of light on Ganga History. Till the time of Madhukāmārāja of Ganga year 526 who is the predecessor of Anantavarma Vajrahasta III. and who, according to the śāka dates given in Vajrahasta's several Grants, ruled from Saka 941 to 959, we have to rely on the evidences supplied by these copper plate grants.

(b) But from his time and even a little earlier, we get, in increasing numbers, several stone inscriptions\* inscribed on the walls of the Mukhalingam, Draksharāmam, Palur Vateswaram, Sreekurmam Simhachellam, Mahendragiri, Puri-Jaganadham, Neeleswaram and other temples and from these, we can get a reliable and continuous story of the Later Ganga rule. The names of all the kings with Saka and Anka dates as well as those of the ministers and other officers are given. Most of the inscriptions are written in Telugu, the language which was then spoken, as now, all along the sea coast tract extending from Nellore in the South to Chatrapur in the North. A few inscriptions are written in Oriya and in Sanskrit. Almost all these have been copied by the Madras Epigraphical department and referred to in Ep. Reports. In recent years, several hundreds of them are published in South Indian Inscriptions, vols. IV, V, and VI. and more await publication.

2 Another valuable source is provided by the Ganga Fanams or *Vanga Parakalu* as they are called from their close resemblance in size and shape, to the brinjal seeds. These coins are made of gold and bear on one side the letter 'Gam' and a numerical number (the regnal year) and on the other, a couchant Bull with *Lingam* and *Pānupattam*.

They are very small so that they might be accessible to one and all. The couchant bull facing left, is dressed and above it is found a crescent of the moon. The bull and the moon are found on their seals also. The coins are of 1/8, 1/4 and 1/2 fanam values and range in weight between 1 to 5 grains.

3 Yet another valuable source is provided by the discovery of antiquarian relics such as statues, coins, stone and brick implements and pottery at Sālihundam, Mukhalingam, Nagarikatakam, Dantapuram, all in the Ganjam district where the Gāṅgas ruled till 1132 A. D.. The existence of the several temples with their peculiar sculpture and architecture adds considerably to our knowledge of Ganga origin and civilisation.

4 Valuable evidence which relates to the Later Ganga period only is supplied to the Scholars by the Muhamadan writings such as *Tubakātinajirī*, *Tārikhī Ftroz Shāhi* and Tamil writings like *Kalingātuparani* and Oriya writings like *Mādalā Pāñji*.

## THE GANGA ERA\*

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

### *Introduction.*

The Ganga kings ruled over Kalingadeśa, originally over Ganjam District, and later on, over the whole area extending from the river Ganges in the North to the river Godavari in the South. This was from the close of the 5th century A. D. to the middle of the 15th century A. D. They belong to a powerful line; but still very little is known to scholars about this dynasty. In their copper plate grants, they mention an Era, called *Gāṅgāya Vamśa Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya Samvatsara* and in this Era are found plates extending over 526 years. Several attempts are made to fix the initial year of the Era, in the period ranging from 349 A.D. to 720 A.D. This paper adduces new evidences and fixes the initial year of the Era in 492—493 A.D.

### *Origin and Early Abode of the Gāṅgas Examined.*

They are first mentioned in Megasthenes Indika (Vide Mc Crindle's translation, pp. 133—138) as *Gāṅgarides* through whose country the river Ganges continued to flow. Their country is called *Calinga* and since they lived in it they are called *Gāṅgaridae-calingae*. They are described as Prachi-Gāṅgaridae or Ganga tribe living in the East who were subject to the control of the Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta. The copper plate inscriptions of Anantavarma Chodaganga Deva of 11th century A.D. state that this dynasty was Lunar in descent, and that the 6th member Tūrvasu being childless, prayed to Goddess Ganga and had a son Gangēya and hence the dynasty was named after him. The 16th king in descent from Gangēya had his capital at Kōlāhalapura in Gāṅgavādi Vishaya and built a temple for Siva. After 81 kings ruled there, Virasimha came to the throne and conquered the whole of South India. After his death, his brother usurping the throne, his five sons had to go eastward and settle on Mahēndragiri. After defeating Balāditya, they subdued Kalinga and made Dantapura, their capital.

According to the Geneology and Chronology given in the above inscriptions, we get the starting time of this dynasty in the early part of the 8th century A.D.

\* A paper presented to the 6th All India Oriental Conference held at Patna in December 1930

*Gangeya Vamsa Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājyā Samvatsara.**(The prosperous and victorious year of Ganga dynasty).**Several theories examined:*

a. Robert Sewell in his sketch of the *Dynasties of South India* P. 43, writing about the Gangas of Kalinga has made the statement that "owing to anarchy in Eastern Chalukya territories from 977 A. D., the Kalinga Gangas rose to power and hence two inscriptions found at Chiccacole recording grants made by Devendra and his son Satya in the same year, namely the fifty first year of the reign of the Gangeya vamsa, at Kalinganagara, would date from 977 A.D." He further adds "If pure conjecture may be allowed a place in a publication of this kind, I would note as a possible explanation of these figures, that as the Kalinga country lay between the territories of Orissa and those of Eastern Chalukyas it is possible that the ancient family may have partially reestablished themselves and founded a dynasty about the end of seventh or the beginning of eighth century, when seemingly the Orissan kings lapsed into a condition of weak peacefulness for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  centuries but being afraid of their powerful neighbours on the south, they dared not assert any considerable independence till the period of anarchy in Eastern Chalukya dominions which commenced about 977. *The 51 year would then refer to the Era of independence, the 254 to the original establishment of the dynasty.*" Again he stated on Pp. 31—34 thus:—"I have noted a dynasty of kings professing to belong to the Ganga family of whom a complete geneology is given for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  centuries ending in 1119 A.D. with Chodaganga. They seem to be unconnected with Gangas mentioned above and yet they claim to have ruled the Kalinga country during the whole of that long period. *I can at present offer no explanation of this apparent confusion.*"

b. According to the Western Ganga Plates which belong to 11th and 12th centuries A.D. we got the following story of Gāṅga origin and date: Dhananjaya had a son called Harischandra. In his line was born Bhārata. His wife, when pregnant, bathed in the Ganges and the son born was named Ganga datta. The kings who belong to his line are called Gāṅgas. In their line was born Vishnugupta. He had two sons Bhagadatta and Sridatta between whom he divided his kingdom. The former got Kalinga for his share. The latter's descendant, Padmanabha was defeated and so he sent out his sons to the South where, in Mysore they carved out their Empire called Gangavadi in the latter half of 3rd century A.D. From this account it is clear that before the 3rd century A.D. the Kalinga Ganga line was started.

c. Dr. Fleet while editing the plates of the Early Ganga kings threw out suggestions based on palaeography or synchronism. In his article on the Parlakimidi plates of Indravarma (Vide Ind. Ant. vol. XVI), he stated as follows:—"As regards the Era in which the dates of this

inscription and the two Chicacole grants<sup>c</sup> are recorded, I can do little more than repeat what I have already said, viz, that it is evidently the Gangēya Era specifically mentioned under that name but apparently only in connection with a conventional date in a grant of Devendra and another of Satya, both of which are dated in the year of the Era I have also a grant of Devendra of 254 year of the Era. *The Epoch of the Era still remains to be determined.* But in publishing Chicacole grants I wrote it is possible that Indra of 128 year is identical with Adhirāja Indra who is mentioned in the Godavari grant of Prithvimūla as combining with other Chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indrabhattāraka. This Indrabhattāraka must be the Eastern Chalukya king of that name, younger brother of Jayasimha I. (Saka 549 to 579-582) and father of Vishnu II. (579-582-591) This is the period to which all the three grants of Indra may be allotted on paleographical grounds. As already intimated the clue to the date may be found in line 10 of the grant of 128, of an eclipse of moon on full moon day of Margāsira." He then states that the lunar eclipse may fall within the years, Saka 549 to 646.

d. Mr. G. Ramados B. A. in an article on "the chronology of the kings of Kalinga" in J. B. O. R. S. vol. 9, pts. III and IV, pp. 398-415 examined the several astronomical facts mentioned by Dr. Fleet and supplemented by him also and came to the conclusion that *not one of the years would stand the test* and the period suggested by Dr. Fleet is incorrect and that Indra of 128 year cannot be identified with Adhirāja of Prithvimūla's Plates.

Mr. Ramados thinks that the Era was not merely conventional but connected with an epoch making event and states that that event was Samudragupta's invasion of Kalinga in 340 A. D. as a result of which an old dynasty of Swāmidatta of Pittapur was replaced and the new Ganga dynasty was set up.

From a comparison of the letters of the Early Ganga plates with those of the Gupta plates, and from the Gupta conquest of Kalinga, and from a study of eclipses and astronomical features, he comes to the conclusion that the Gupta Era must have been adopted by the Gangas. But strangely, he does not fix up A.D. 319-320 which is the starting point of Gupta Era as the initial year of Gāṅga rule but accepts A.D. 339-340 which is the year of Samudragupta's invasion of Kalinga, as the initial year.

e. Mr. Satyanarayana Raja Guru in his article on "*Santa Bomvali-Copperplate Grant of Nandavarma: A reply to Mr. Ramados Review,*" published in J. A. H. R. S. vol. IV Pts. 1 & 2, pp. 9-20, criticises the views of Mr. Ramdas and states that his assumption regarding the Gangēya Era is incorrect as the astronomical data on which he relies does not satisfy the test.

Mr. Rajguru says, relying on the titles used by kings that there were five collateral branches of Ganga line that ruled over different parts of Kalinga and that the main line of Kamarnava began to rule in the last part of 7th, or the first part of 8th, century A.D. when the Era was started. In his *Phulasara copper plate. Grant of Kirtirajadeva* published in *J. A. H. R. S.*, vol. III, Pt. I pp 30-40, Mr. Rajaguru maintains the same period as the one during which the Gangeya Era was started.

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### *My own conclusion.*

• One point connected with Ganga chronology is the settlement of the question whether the Early and the Later Ganga kings belonged to one and same line or not. While editing the *Cheedivalasa Plates of Devendra-varma* dated 397 Ganga Era in *J. A. H. R. S.* vol. 2. Pt. 2, p. 161 f. I proved conclusively that both the lines are one and the same. Both were called *Ganga vamsa* kings. The endings of the names of the early Ganga kings and those of the first kings of the later Ganga line are similar. The seals of both sets of Plates bear common features. Both were issued from Victorious Kalinganagara. Both the lines worshipped Mahendrachala Gōkarnasvāmi only. Both were related to Kadambas. Both belonged to lunar dynasty. So both lines are one and the same. But while the Early line used Ganga Era, the later line used Saka Era. One king of the later line *Madhu Kāmarnava* actually used the year 526 of Gangeya Era. (Vide C. P. No. 3, E.P. Report for 1918-1919) From the Plates of Anantavarma Vajrahasta, we get a regular Geneology and Chronolgy in Saka dates. The time of this Madhu Kāmarnava is Saka 941-959 or, A.D. 1019-1037. Granting that this king gave the grant of 526. G.E. as soon as he came to the throne, the Era would start in A.D. 493.

• Now, with the aid of Paleography and Synchronism, we arrive at the same conclusion. While editing the *Jurjungi Plates of Indravarma* in *J. A. H. R. S.* vol. 3 Pt. I pp. 49-53, I stated that the king made the grant in 39 year of G.E. and so he might be the Founder of the dynasty. He alone of all the early kings is styled *Trikalingādhipati*. The characters of his Plates are box headed and resemble those of the Vākatakas of 5th-6th century A.D. Mr. K. V. Subramanya Iyer, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle examined the Plates and came to the same conclusion. Hence, the year 39 will be equal to 530 A. D. nearly.

Dr. Fleet identified Indravaram of 128, and 146 years with the E. Chalukya Indrabhattaraka who lived in 666 A. D. This would make 520 A.D. the starting point of Ganga Era. He also opined that the grant of Devendravarma of 254. year on paleographical grounds must belong to 774 A.D. This would also make 520 A. D. the starting year of Gāṅga Era. Dr. Kiellhorn has suggested that this Indravarma Ganga must be identified with Indrabhattaraka of Vishnukundin line and not with



Indrabhattaraka of the Eastern Chalukya line, as in the Vishnukundin plates, references are often given about their fights with Chaturdantas of the East, i.e. Ganga line. This Vishnukundin Indra died in 525 A. D. (See the chronology in my *Kalinga Desa Charitra* P. 57). And so, if Ganga Indra of 128—146 years was contemporary of Vishnukundin Indra of 505—525 A.D., we get 375 A.D. as the starting point of the Era. But I cannot accept this date as it falls in the heyday of Gupta-Vishnukundin zenith when no Era could possibly be started. So I must identify the Tri-kalingadhipati Ganga Indra of Jirjangi Plates of 39 year who refers to fights with his elephants as the Indra who defeated Vishnukundin Indra when he tried to regain his hold on the eastern region from out of the Ganga king's hand. If this identification be held good, then the 39 year would correspond to 525 A.D., or the era would begin about 490 A. D. One more strong argument in favour of this view is the fall of the Gupta Empire about 490 A.D. The Maukharis rose and started an Era of their own at that time. Similarly, the E. Gangas also got their chance after the fall of the Gupta Empire, and so, at the close of the 5th C. A.D. or, as indicated by Madhukamarnava's plates, in 498 A.D., the Ganga Era was started *after, and as a result of*, the fall of the Imperial Guptas.

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Members and Subscribers whose subscriptions close with this issue are requested to send in their subscriptions for Vol. 6 by Money Order so as to reach the Treasurer *before the end of Oct. 1931*. Else, the July number (Vol. VI part I) will be sent to them by V.P.P. as usual early in November.

Volume I, Part I is now published and members and subscribers who want the same may get them at Twelve annas only a copy excluding postage, unless they have already paid for the same.

The Library Catalogue is under print and will issue along with Vol VI, P. I. The Index to Volume V will also issue along with the same.

It is much regretted that the several Books and Journals received for review could not be noticed in this Journal. They will all be reviewed in detail in Vol VI, Part I.

The following articles are *under print* for Vol VI, Part I:—

- 1 *Ourselves* by the Editor.
- 2 *Our Patrons* (with Photos) by the Secretary.
- 3 *The Kechala C. P. Grant of Krishnadeva* by Mr. G. Ramadas,  
B.A., M.R.A.S.
- 4 *Inscription on the Nilachakra* by Sri L. H. Deb, M.R.A.S.
- 5 *The History of the E. Gañjas* by Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
- 6 *Political History of the Kakatiyas*—Chapter II. Rudra 1158-1195 A.D.  
by Mr. M. Rama Rao, B.A. Hons. M.R.A.S.
- 7 *The Vemulavāla Stone Inscription of Arikesari* by Mr. B. V.  
Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.
- 8 *The Pulimburu C. P. Grant of Mālhavavarma* by Mr. R. Subba-  
Rao, M.A., L.T.
- 9 *A new C. P. Grant of Umavarma of Kalinga*, by Sri G. H. Deb,  
M. R. A. S.
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## HISTORY OF RAJAHMUNDRY.

BIHAVARAJ V. KRISHNARAO, B.A., B.L.

(Continued from p. 112 of vol. III. above)

To resume the thread of history. The reign of Rājarāja has been ignorantly supposed to be a peaceful one by some scholars, and that he was but a weak prince, being content with the position of a vassal of the Chōla emperor, and as such enjoyed comparative peace and immunity from the danger of foreign invasion for a full reign of forty and odd years.<sup>1</sup> These historians consider his reign to be rather uneventful in the main, but for the composition of the *Andhra Mahābhārata* by Nanniya Bhaṭṭa, the poet laureate of Rājarāja. The work is certainly the first extant literary composition in the Telugu language and was written under the patronage and inspiration of that illustrious king.

Let us examine the truth of this assumption. Nanniya's reference to his patron in the Introduction to his *Mahābhārata*, as a valorous and powerful king, who won victories in several battles and obtained the throne has been taken by some historians till now, probably out of ignorance, to be a mere stretch of poetic imagination. The existence of a powerful neighbour in the south in the king of the Chōlas, and the supposed assistance which the latter gave to Śaktivarman I. and his brother Vimalāditya in regaining the throne in or about A. D. 999, and the eventual alliance by marriage between Vimalāditya and Kundava, sister of Rājendra Chōla alias Gangaikondan, led to this assumption that the kings of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty were satisfied to remain as subordinates and appanages of the Chōlas. But nothing is farther from truth than this as some recently discovered copper plate records of the dynasty go to show.

1 Prof S. K. Aiyengar's *Ancient India*,



It now appears that the erroneous view propounded by the southern school of historians led by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,<sup>2</sup> is nothing but gratuitous and untrue. We know Vimalāditya married two wives, Kundava, daughter of the Chōla king Rājarāja the great, and Mēḍāmbā, another Chōla princess. By Kundavāmbā, Vimalāditya had a son Rājarāja and by Mēḍāmbā a younger son named Vijayāditya, who is known to history as Vijayāditya, VII. <sup>alias</sup> Chālukya Bhīma IV. On the death of Vimalāditya in A. D. 1022, his eldest son Rājarāja, succeeded to the throne; and his accession took place on Thursday, the 2nd *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, S. S. 944, corresponding to 16th August, A. D. 1022.<sup>3</sup> For sometime Rājarāja appears to have reigned in peace; but about the eighth year of his reign troubles arose, on account of the revolt of his younger brother Vijayāditya VII. who was seized with the ambition to reign in Vēṅgi. Vijayāditya at once rallied to his banner some of the insurgent elements in the kingdom, and with their help and probably also taking advantage of the temporary absence of Rājarāja from the country, crowned himself king of Vēṅgi. His coronation is stated to have taken place in the eighth year of the reign of Rājarāja, on Thursday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Karkata (luni-solar month may be *Aśvāḍha* or *Śrāvaṇa*) in S.S. 952, corresponding to Thursday, 9th July A. D. 1030.<sup>4</sup> Though he crowned himself king, the usurpation of the kingdom did not become complete till four years later, when he says he drove out his half-brother Rājarāja from the country.<sup>5</sup> These four years of protracted warfare, therefore, were filled with severe fighting in the country, victory swaying at one time this side and another, on the other, between the two brothers. As a result of this devastating warfare the country appears to have been divided and those who were responsible for this revolt and usurpation by Vijayāditya must have been immensely benefited by the conditions in Vēṅgi. Vijayāditya assumed the title of Chālukya Bhīma IV. on his accession to the throne, though he was known to his contemporaries by his familiar name Vijayāditya VII.

In this attempt of Vijayāditya VII., to gain the throne of his father he appears to have been greatly assisted by the western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I. whose vassal he was. Vijayāditya on account, of his association with the sons of Sōmēśvara I., in the latter's campaigns in the south against the Chōlas and the Mysore territory led the historians to believe that he was the fourth son of Sōmēśvara I.<sup>6</sup> Notable

2 Annual Report on South India, Epigraphy 1900 p 13 & *Ep. and* vol, p 350

3 Korumilli Plates of Rajaraja, Ind. Ant. vol. XI p. 48

4 Pamulavaka grant of Vijayāditya VII. See above vol. II. p 277

5 Ibid; and Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II., See above vol. IV p 33

6 Dynasties of the Canarese District p. 440

among the chiefs and *mandaleśvaras* of Vēṅgi who raised the banner of revolt under the leadership of Vijayāditya are Bhīma Bhūpa and his son Chāmarāja the ornament of the *Nāga kula*, called the lord of Mēgha giri.<sup>7</sup> Bhīma Bhūpa who was the trusted soldier of Vijayāditya VII., at the time of the latter's coronation, received as a reward for his faithful and heroic services Kōmpolomgu and twelve other small villages as a fief, for having taken great pains in his cause. Bhīma Bhūpa is called Malaya Bhāskara, and this title seem to indicate that he was lord of the hill region of Vēṅgīdeśa, comprising the hilly tracts of the East Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam districts, more probably of the latter though it has not become possible to identify the Mēgha-giri with any hill of repute in those parts.

It does not appear that Vijayāditya VII. reigned long peacefully in Vēṅgī. Even the first four years of his rule were filled with intestine warfare and Vijayāditya's authority in the country does not seem to have been supreme between A. D. 1030 and 1034. The fact that though Vijayāditya VII. crowned himself king in July 1030, he could not become the master of the kingdom till four years later, when he drove out his brother from the country, shows that Rājarāja had still some hold on the people in some part of the kingdom and that the country was divided between the brothers. It cannot be said how long Vijayāditya VII. reigned after A. D. 1034: but it seems certain that he did not hold the country long for himself. His rule might not have extended for over a year or two and, he was probably attacked, defeated and exiled in disgrace once more into the west. The disgraceful revolt and treachery of Vijayāditya and his short rule have been rightly ignored both by Rājarāja-Vijayāditya and his son Śaktivarman II. in their grants issued some years later.<sup>8</sup> Nanniya Bhaṭṭa naively refers to the unsuccessful and temporary revolt of Rājarāja's brother (dāyāla) in the *Andhra Mahābhārata*, and extols his patron as one who regained the kingdom through his own prowess and victories obtained in several battles with his enemies.<sup>9</sup>

Vijayāditya VII., after this episode fled to the court of the Western Chālukyas, who were then preparing for a protracted struggle with the Chōlas of the south, for the expansion of their empire. And for this reason Vijayāditya VII. readily found shelter from his erstwhile ally and probably overlord, Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I. who was only too delighted to have once more a discontented prince of Vēṅgi as his vassal. The Chōlas bore no love for Western Chālukyas; and the Western Chālukyas and the Chōlas together were hostile towards the Eastern Chālukyas, and eagerly waited for an opportunity to annex it to their respective empires.

<sup>7</sup> Pamulavaka grant of Vijayaditya VII see above vol. p 277

<sup>8</sup> The Pamulabaka plates of Vijayaditya VII and the Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II referred to above

<sup>9</sup> Adiparvam

Rājarāja must have had a very hard time in quelling the insurgent elements in the country before he restored peace and order. About this time apparently his son Prince Rājendra Chōḷa was born to his queen Ammaṅgaḍēvī. This prince Rājendra became afterwards famous in the history of South India as Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I, the founder of the *Chālukya-Chōḷa* line of the throne of Kāñchī. History does not speak of any son by the name of Sārangadhara to our Rājarāja of Rājamahēndravaram though curiously enough the tradition has become tied down to this unfortunate king and town.

The last years of Rājarāja seem to have become again disturbed. By this time the Western Chālukyas and the Chōḷas were constantly at war with each other on their frontiers, struggling to extend the borders of their empires beyond the Tungabhadra. For this purpose the Western Chālukyan prince Vikramāditya, afterwards the Vikramāditya VI., the founder of the Chālukya Vikrama Era was appointed as viceroy of the southern provinces with his capital somewhere on the banks of the Tungabhadra. He carried on his incursions into the farther south and threatened to destroy the Chōḷa power at one time. But the succession of powerful kings on the Chōḷa throne from Rājendra Chōḷa to Vīraṛājēndradēva prevented any such disaster. About the year A. D. 1060, Someśvara I. invaded the Chōḷa dominions, penetrated as far as the Chōḷa capital Kāñchīpura, stormed the city, and drove the ruler Rājēndradēva into the jungles. This event seems to have taken place shortly before 20th January A. D. 1060, according to an inscription found at Sudi in Dhārwār district, which records a grant to the temple by Sōmēśvara I. on his return from his conquest of the southern countries and of the Chōḷas.<sup>10</sup> About this time too, the Eastern Chālukya king Rājarāja had experienced some trouble on the northern frontiers of the kingdom in the direction of Chakrakūṭa maṇḍala (modern Bastar state and the district of Chhattīsgarh in the Central Provinces), which appears at this time to have been a feudatory kingdom under the Eastern Chālukyas. This part of the northern provinces had for a long time known as Trikalīṅga, and was included in the Eastern Chālukyan dominions since the days of Vijayāditya III. Yaśaḥkarnadēva, lord of Chēdi, invaded Vēṅgī, apparently with the object of annexing the province of Trikalīṅga, to his kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Yaśaḥkarnadēva's

10 I have avoided discussion on this point here, as space forbids it. If the prince is taken to have been born at this period i.e. A.D. 1034—35 or 1035—36 he would be just 27 years of age at the time of his father's death and 32 years on the date of his accession to the Chōḷa throne and an octogenarian at the time of his death.

11 Dynasties of the Canarese Districts page 441

12 Jubba'pore plates of Yaśaḥkarnadēva Ep I, 2. v. 1. II' p. 1. See also Ep Ind, vol. XII p. 205

invasion was probably due to the influence of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara, or more probably was under the inducement of Vijayāditya VII. who had begun again to cast evil glances on his ancestral kingdom aided by his master and ally Sōmēśvara Āhavamalla I. Whatever might be the causes, there was war in Chakrakūṭa maṇḍala and Wairgarh (Vāirāgāram of the Kulōttunga Chōla I's inscriptions) and Rājarāja and his son hastened towards the north to quell the rebellion.

The absence of Rājarāja and his son from the kingdom at a time when the arms of the Western Chālukyas were successful in the south gave an opportunity to Vijayāditya VII. to invade Vēṅgi and occupy the capital. It is certain that he was backed up by the Western Chālukyas and the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram fell an easy prey to his invasion. The story of the invasion is thus briefly told. A grant of his son Saktivarman II., 18 states that Vijayāditya VII. conquered the kingdom during the absence of Rājarāja. This might be in A. D. 1061—62 or thereabouts. In this campaign Vijayāditya was greatly assisted by a nobleman Aḍapa Appana who was rewarded with a fief on the occasion of the coronation of Saktivarman II. in A. D. 1064. Vijayāditya VII. conquered the kingdom, but out of the great love he bore for his son, rather his only son, crowned him king and probably went back afterwards to his Western Chālukya viceroyalty. The news of Vijayāditya's invasion of Vēṅgi did not turn away Rājarāja or his son Rājendra Chōḍa from the fields of Chakrakūṭa or Vairagaram but it might be that Rājarāja who had become old by this time perished on the battle-field.<sup>13</sup> The story current in tradition in the country today that there was an invasion of the country by some enemies and consequently confusion and chaos, and that Rājarāja lost his life in the tumult that arose, in those troublous times when the whole country was immersed in grief and that Nanniya too died leaving his *Mahā-bhārata* unfinished, seems to contain some truth. It is a fact that Nanniya's work is incomplete, only three parvas having been written by him.

These events roughly took place about A. D. 1062—63. The death of Rājarāja even does not seem to have turned away prince Rājendra Chōḍa from his resolve to reduce the insurgent vassals in the north. Though his country was occupied by his treacherous uncle a second time, and that, at a time when he and his father were away, the youthful prince did not leave the task of reducing his insolent enemy in the first place. Rājendra Chōḍa remained in Chakrakūṭa till he destroyed the power of Dhāra-varshadēva, lord of the Chakrakūṭa maṇḍala and storming the impregnable citadel of Wairgarh (Vāirāgāram) and capturing herds of the enemy's elephants which he carried home in great pomp, with pride. The

13 The Teiugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II see above vol. IV p. 33

storming of the fort of Wairgarh and capturing the elephants of that king were regarded by Rājendra Chōḍa as marvellous feats of heroism and military skill, and that is the chief reason why these exploits find mention in almost all his records. Chakrakūṭamaṇḍala and Wairgarh were reduced and Trikalīṅga, the kingdom of Dhāra-varshadēva, was probably re-annexed to the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas.

Immediately on his return from his wars in the north, Rājendra seems to have attacked his cousin Saktivarman II. who was reigning in Rājamahēndravaram, defeated and slew him in the battle that ensued. This event might be assigned to A.D. 1065. Vijayāditya VII. who was absent at this time from the capital and the country, returned and opposed Rājendra Chōḍa. Vijayāditya VII. bemoans the loss of his only son very keenly as he compares his tragic death on the battle field to that of the epic hero Abhimanyu, who like prince Saktivarman II. died on the battle-field at a moment when he was hemmed in by his own hostile kinsmen. Rājendra Chōḍa did not, for some reason which is not possible to divine now,—might be that he was deeply moved with the grief of the old uncle or that the events in the south at the Chōḍa capital compelled him to change his plans at the last moment,—pursue hostilities with his uncle: he quickly reconciled himself to his bereaved uncle and allowed him to reign in Vēṅgi, and himself set out to the Chōḍa kingdom which was then without a ruler on account of the unexpected death of Vira Rājēndradēva. Vijayāditya VII. remained in Rājamahēndravaram and reigned till his death in A. D. 1076. Practically, he is the last of the Eastern Chālukyas that ruled in Vēṅgi as an independent sovereign, for from the days of the accession of Rājendra Chōḍa to the throne as Kulottunga Chōḍadēva I., the Chālukya line ceased to be called as such but as Chōḍa-Chālukya in all the records of the dynasty.

The death of Rājēndradēva suddenly on battle field, in or about A.D. 1061—62, without leaving any male issue was an occasion to intriguing princes to cast ambitious glances at the coveted throne. Prince Rājendra Chōḍa of Rājamahēndravaram had married Madhurāntakī daughter of king Rājēndradēva; and he was also the grandson (daughter's son) of prince Rājendra Chōḍa I. (alias Guṇṇaikaṇḍan); and as such he had a greater and stronger claim to succeed his father-in-law. It might be with the object and perhaps with an inward certainty of his succession to the Chōḍa throne, this ambitious prince entered into cordial terms with his erstwhile enemy, his old uncle and left him in charge of Vēṅgi. This gesture which is at once statesmanlike and noble had left for our Rājendra Chōḍa a kindly and contented ally on the north, who would no longer be a source of anxiety and worry, always plotting to overthrow him by joining his enemies, and impeding his progress. Vijayāditya VII. who had grown

old and vexed with himself and his fortunes was only too content to be on the side of his generous nephew and therefore remained faithful and loyal to him. Fifteen years after this event, Rājendra Chōḍa as Kulottunga refer to this act of his own generosity and statemanship on the occasion of anointing his son Vīra Chōḍa to the viceroyalty of Vēṅgi, in succession to his uncle. Vijayāditya VII., reigned in Vēṅgi for fifteen years between A.D. 1062 and 1076. The earlier half of his reign does not appear to have been peaceful on account of continued wars and invasions of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra I. to which we shall presently turn.

Prince Rājendra Chōḍa moved fast towards the south, the Chōḷa capital; but the events in the Chōḷa country, unfortunately moved faster for him. Virarājendra I. a powerful and younger brother of Rājendradēva the last king, seized the throne and with a large army behind him proclaimed himself king on the Chōḷa kingdom, before Rājendra Chōḍa could arrive on the scene. Rājendra had thus lost both the ancestral throne and the kingdom of his maternal grandfather and uncle to which he was entitled by right to succeed. Virarājendra became king in A.D. 1062 (*circa*) and for full seven years, the period of his reign, successfully kept the ambitious prince Rājendra, off his path. Rājendra, seems to have lived in exile during this period keeping eye on the Chōḷa throne waiting for an opportunity. History does not tell us how and where he spent his time during this period. We do not hear of him in Vēṅgi.

We need not pause here to go into the details of the reign of Virarājendra I. for our purposes, but confine our narrative to the discussion of his foreign policy, especially towards the kings of Rājahendravaram. Vijayāditya VII. as we had already mentioned above, remained loyal to his nephew Rājendra Chōḍa and friendly with his erstwhile overlord the Western Chālukya king Someswara I. Virarājendra was on the one hand pursuing a most aggressive policy towards the Eastern Chalukyas in Vēṅgi, because he wanted to annex the country to his Chōḷa empire. He on more than one occasion declared that it was his avowed intention to reduce Vēṅgi to subjection as it was in accordance with the vow taken by his elder brother who died without accomplishing it. We do not however, know of any vow having been taken by either Rājendra Chōḷa I. or his brother Rājendradēva, as they all remained loving relatives of Vimalāditya and Rājarāja. Whatever might be the truth of the above statement, Virarājendra seems to have carried on a most aggressive foreign policy towards Vēṅgi, for he had in Vēṅgi a prince who was his rival to the Chōḷa throne and another in his uncle his strong ally. As a result of this policy, Virarājendra I. on two occasions invaded Vēṅgi: on the last occasion he actually drove away Vijayāditya VII. and occupied the capital, though it was only for a short time.

The first invasion of Virarājendra<sup>14</sup> was in the second or third year of his reign which might fall, in A.D. 1063-34. By this time Sōmēśvara I. had not died and he was still a close ally of the king of Vēṅgi Vikramāditya, the younger son of Sōmēśvara I. and ruler of the territories lying on either side of the Tungabhadra sent a large irresistible and powerful army under the command of *Mihāṭṭanāyaka* Chāmunḍarāja of Banvasi, to help Vijayāditya VII. in Vēṅgināḍu. Virarājendra attacked and defeated the Western Chālukyan army; Chāmunḍarāja himself was killed on the field, his only daughter, beautiful Nāgalādēvī, wife of Irugavan, who resembled a peacock, was most brutally insulted by her nose being chopped off, Vijayāditya VII. proceeded towards Virarājendra and gave him battle. In this engagement, Virarājendra claims to have killed the lord of Pottapi, and a younger brother of Jananātha of Dhārā both vassals of the king of Vēṅgi.<sup>15</sup> Vijayāditya was only temporarily subdued, but before Virarājendra could proceed further, war seems to have again broken out on the western Chālukyan frontiers.<sup>16</sup>

The war with the Western Chālukyan prince Vikramāditya VI. proved a disaster to Virarājendra; and about or prior to the 5th year of his reign he entered into an alliance with Vikramāditya VI.<sup>17</sup> and as a result of this alliance gave his only daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. Immediately after this alliance was sealed, Virarājendra undertook an expedition into Vēṅgi for causes not specifically mentioned. The expedition was undertaken probably to complete the conquest of Vengi which was left unfinished two years ago. Vijayāditya VII. assembled his forces and marched out to meet the enemy. The battle took place near the city of Vijāyavāḍa close to the river, Krishna. But Virarājendra defeated the large army of Vijayāditya who fled for safety. Having then moved his camp Virarājendra is said to have declared, "we shall not return without regaining the country of Vēṅgi which we had formerly subdued. You, the lord of Vēṅgi who are strong come and defend it if you are able."<sup>18</sup> At this time Vijayāditya's army was commanded by *Mahāśeṣapati* Jananāthanayaka, lord of Dhārā, *Dudunayaka* Rājanyaya whose strong elephants trumpeted in herd and the valiant Mupparasu.<sup>19</sup> Virarājendra pursued vanquished army, Vijayāditya fleeing ahead of it for his life, Rājēndrachōḍa does not appear to have been with his uncle on this occasion for there is no mention of him at all in all the inscriptions of Virarājendra. The Chōla king then crossed the Gōdāvari, captured

14 S. I. I. vol, III part I p. 31.

15 Ibid

17 Bilhana's Vikramānkaśekhara, & Ind. Ant. vol V p. 318

18 S. I. I. vol. III part I p 64

16 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

Rājamahēndravaram and proceeded into Kalinga, despatched an army as far as Chakrakūṭam and expelled Dēvanātha and other chiefs from it.<sup>20</sup> Vijayāditya in the first place appears to have fled to the court of Rājā-  
rāja, king of Kalinga and from thence to Chakrakūṭa, probably the stronghold of Rājendra Chōḍa. He is said to have taken refuge at this time, unable to carry on the fight any longer, at the feet of Virarājendra after this disgraceful flight, but there seems to be nevertheless no small exaggeration in it. We have a statement in a grant<sup>21</sup> of Anantavarman *alias* Chōḍa Ganga, king of Kalinga that his father Rājārāja rendered help to Vijayāditya and "rescued him from sinking into an ocean of troubles in the west like the sun, on account of the invasion of his country by the Chōḷas." This statement is inconsistent with the boastful expressions in Virarājendra's own grants, and is certainly therefore more trustworthy in view of Virarājendra's attitude towards Vēṅgi from the beginning. Virarājendra was no doubt in occupation of the county for a short time, but Vijayāditya VII. was reinstated on the throne through the timely assistance rendered by Rājārāja of Kalinga. An inscription of Padmāvatī wife of Baṇapati,<sup>22</sup> the commander-in-chief of the army of the king of Kalinga found at Dākshārāmā puts the fact of Virarājendra's boast beyond all doubt. The Dīrghāsī inscription of Baṇapati<sup>23</sup> also supports the above view. Virarājendra was defeated by the combined forces of the king of Kalinga and Vēṅgi, and compelled to return to his capital, Gangaikonda Chōḷapuram. Virarājendra in spite of his defeat seems to have carried away a large booty and valuable treasures to his capital which he displayed before an admiring crowd of his commanders, ministers, vassals and people. He had become old now by this time, and an account of his successive reverses could not prosecute his cherished object of annexing Vēṅgi; and shortly afterwards died early in 1070 A. D.

The death of Virarājendra removed all the enemies of Vēṅgi, and Vijayāditya restored once more peace and prosperity. Vijayāditya ruled in peace till a very ripe old age and died about A. D. 1076 and then the kingdom of Rājamahēndravaram passed into the hands of Rājendra Chōḍa who had now become the emperor of the Chōḷas under the proud title of Kutōttunga Chōḷa Dēva. I.

Let us turn to prince Rājendra and trace the events of his early career since the death of his uncle Virarājendra. Virarājendra's death gave him once more another opportunity to turn his arms against any rival claimant to the Chōḷa throne."<sup>24</sup> The followers of Virarājendra at

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Second set of Korni copper plate grant of Anantavarman J.A.H.R.S. vol I

<sup>22</sup> S.I.I. vol. IV No.

<sup>23</sup> Ep. Ind. vol. IV p. 814.



once put Adhirājendra on the throne of Gangaikonda Chōlapuram but the popular party led by the supporters of Rājendra Chōḍa, appears to have had the better of the situation. Rājendra Chōḍa who seems to have captured the heart of the people in the capital and in the country, and who had a large support from the royal grandmother the queen of Gangaikonda, who brought him up as her son, succeeded in the struggle though he had a hard time in putting the rival claimants out of his way effectively. Hearing this news, Vikramāditya VI., hastened to the Chōḷa capital and after temporarily putting down the insurrection, placed his youthful brother-in-law on the throne and left the place shortly afterwards. As soon as Vikramāditya crossed the frontiers of Chōḷa country, Rājendra entered the city and with the help of the popular party put himself at the head of the revolution, killed Adhirājendra and proclaimed himself the undisputed master of the Chōḷa empire. It is doubted whether Adhirājendra was killed by Rājendra Chōḍa, by some historians, but the circumstances under which the event took place throws a cloud on the character of Rājendra. As a political murder it had certainly its own justification and might be well a fact. Rājendra Chōḍa, on the occasion of his accession to the throne of the Chōḷas assumed the significant name Kulōttunga Chōḷa Dēva I., and united in him the lineage of the Chālukyas and the Chōḷas. He thus founded a new line on the throne of Chōḷas, called the *Chālukya-Chōḷa* dynasty. The Eastern Chālukya line founded by Kubja Vishnuvardhana I. in or about A.D. 615 C, thus came an end in A.D. 1076 with the death of Vijayāditya VII. as such, and the last prince of the dynasty was Rājendra Chōḍa himself. Kulōttunga Chōḷa never came to Rājamahēndravaram or to Vēṅgi dēśa to reign: he was content to govern this ancestral country of his through his sons whom he sent out from time to time as his viceroys and later on raised one of his own trusted noblemen, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Velananti Chōḍa son of Gonka I. as the viceroy of Vēṅgi after formally adopting him as his own son and anointing him with his own name.

On the death of Vijayāditya VII., Kulōttunga Chōḷa Deva I. assumed the rulership of Vēṅgidēśa directly, and sent out his eldest son Rājarāja *alias* Mummaḍichōḍa to Rājamahēndravaram to govern the country as his viceroy.<sup>24</sup> But this prince, it is said did not remain long in vēṅgi in separation from his parents and so requested his father to permit him to return to Kāñchī, after reigning only for one year. In the following year, A.D. 1078 Kulōttunga sent his younger perhaps the third son, prince Vīra Chōḍa who was a valourous and powerful youth to Vēṅgi. This prince crowned himself at a town called Jananāthapura which is

24 Annl Rep. and South Ind. Sp. for 1899 p. 14 para 51

25 Chellur grant of Virachoda S.I.I. vol. I p. 49

not capable of identification, and ruled for six years till A. D. 1084.<sup>26</sup> About this time a war with the Pandyas broke out in the south and Vīra Chōḍa was called away to carry on the expedition against the Pandya country.<sup>27</sup> In this expedition Vīra Chōḍa was followed by the Velanāṇṭi Chief Vedula to the south who fought victoriously by the side of his overlord.<sup>28</sup> During the absence of Vīra Chōḍa, Vēṅgi was governed by Chōḍganga *alias* Rājarāa, the eldest son of Rājarāja, from A. D. 1084 to 1088—9.<sup>29</sup> This prince like his brother Vīra Chōḍa was a vaishnava unlike his father Kulōttunga Chōḷa I., In A. D. 1086, Vīra Chōḍa returned to Vēṅgi, apparently after successfully bringing to a close the war against the Pandyas and bringing them to subjection and servitude. Vīra Chōḍa continued to rule in Vēṅgi till A. D. 1092; and sometime afterwards, he seems to have died in the war with the lords of Chakrakūta and Kalinga that ensued about that time.

The events of this period may be briefly narrated thus. Vēṅgi maṇḍala was invaded by Jagadēkabhūshana Sōmēśvaradēva, lord of Chakrakuta maṇḍala, during the last days of Vīra Chōḍa's period of second viceroyalty in Vēṅgi. Though the causes for this invasion are not apparent, it might be due to the probable hostilities between the lords of Chakrakuta maṇḍala and Andhra country from the last days of Rājarāja (1062—1063). We have seen already how Yūvarāja Rajendra Chōḍa, made an incursion into the provinces of Chakrakuta and Vāyirāgāram (Vajrakota i.e. Waingarh) and after subduing the rulers of the countries carried away great plunder and large herds of elephants. During this invasion apparently Dhārāvārshadēva, lord of Chakrakūta, lost his life, and was succeeded by his son Sōmēśvaradēva the most powerful of the rulers of his family. Perhaps it is on account of this hereditary hostility towards Vēṅgi maṇḍala, that Sōmēśvaradēva appears to have invaded Vēṅgi during the viceroyalty of prince Vīra Chōḍa, and actually burnt the capital of the kingdom, which was at that time called Jananāthapur.<sup>30</sup> This event may possibly be fixed about A. D. 1092—93 when the period of Vīrachōḍa's second viceroyalty came to a close, and he was never afterwards heard of again.

Chakrakūta which were till then a tributary kingdoms under Kulōttunga I. appears to have rebelled and declared independence with the assistance of the Kalachuris of Chēdi. Vīra Chōḍa who appears at

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* and Pithapuram Ins. of Prithvisvara *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV p 32

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>28</sup> Pithapuram Ins. of Vrithirivara *Ep. Ind.* vol IV p 32

<sup>29</sup> Teki plates of Rājarāja Chōḍaganga *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 332

this time in the Kalinga capital<sup>30</sup> on the Vamsadhāra probably died afterwards, Kulōttunga on hearing the news set out on his second expedition against Kalinga and reduced the kingdom to subjection a second time. The Kalingattuparani<sup>31</sup> and the inscriptions of the time<sup>32</sup> of Kulōttunga Chōla I. fix the date of this second expedition in A. D. 1095—96, which falls in the twenty-sixth year of his reign. This expedition falls in the reign of the reign of Anantvarāman alias Chōda Ganga, A. D. 1078—1142 and is described in great detail in the *Kalingattuparani*.

<sup>30</sup> S.I.I, vol VI No. 1005

<sup>31</sup> *Ind Ant* vol XIV p 329

<sup>32</sup> *Annl Rept S I Epigraphy* for 1901 p 8

(To be continued)

## KAPAYA NAYAKA

M. SOMASEKHARA ŚARMA.

### INTRODUCTION.

The condition of the Andhra Country after the destruction of the Kākatiya kingdom of Warangal is thus described in the Kaluvachēṭṭu grant<sup>1</sup> of Anitalli :

तस्मिन् प्रतापरुद्रे स्वस्थानं स्वेच्छयैव यातवति  
अथ सा भू र्यवनमयी जातै दाहो महामयो महिमा ॥  
वराहव द्वारेधि वारिममां धारां मशोषां यवनोदरस्था  
समुद्धरन् प्रोलयनायकेन्द्र क्षतः प्रतिष्ठापयति स्म तद्वत् ॥  
स्वर्गातिर्या प्रोलयभूमिपाले विश्वेश्वराज्ञा मधिगम्य गत्वा  
अपालय त्कापयनायकेन्द्रः तदिदं (तदोय) राज्यं तराणिप्रतापः ॥ •  
अथ पंचोत्तर सप्तति नायक संसेव्यमान पदपद्मः  
कापावनीश्वरः श्री विश्वेश्वरकरुणया क्षिति मरक्षन् ॥  
तुप्रजै र्थे समाक्रान्ता स्ते चान्ये कापभूभुजा  
अग्रहाराः पुनर्दत्ता भूयो भुव मभूषयन् ॥  
विश्वेश्वराय विविधां प्रविधाय सेवां याते विभौ दिवि च तत्पदसेवनाय  
तै नायकै रस्वनगरा ण्य गम्य सर्वे स्संरक्षिता गताविरोध कथं स्वदेशाः .

"After Pratāparudra departed from this world Prōlaya nāyaka reconquered all the territory, which was in possession of the Muhammadans. When Prōlaya died, the government of the country passed into the hands of Kāpayanāyaka, who was served by Seventy Five chiefs. He not only restored to the brahmans their *agrahāras* which were confiscated by the Mussalmans, but granted to them several villages afresh. After his death, the seventy five chiefs, who had been his subordinates, declared independence, each in his own principality. King Vēma was one of them."

The political condition of the country after the fall of the Kākatiyas and the part played by Prōlaya and Kāpaya nāyakas are described

only in the Kaluvachēru copper-plate grant. It is however silent about the manner in which Prōlaya and Kāpaya were related to each other. I shall make an attempt, in this paper to discover the identity of these chiefs, who rescued the country from the clutches of the Muhammadans and the nature of their relationship.

## II

For our purpose we have to depend entirely upon the inscriptions of these chiefs, which are found exclusively in the Telugu country along the east coast. They are :

- i. The Dōnepūṇḍi grant<sup>2</sup> of Koppula Nāmaya nāyaka—Śaka 1259
- ii. The Gaṇapēśvaraṁ inscription<sup>3</sup> of Kāpaya nāyaka—Śaka 1268.
- iii. The Pillalamarri inscription<sup>4</sup> of Kāpaya nāyaka—Śaka 1275.
- iv. The Simhāchalaṁ inscription<sup>5</sup> of Koppula Kāpaya nāyaka—Śaka 1282
- v. The Simhāchalaṁ inscription<sup>6</sup> of Koppula Nāmaya nāyaka—Śaka 1291
- vi. The Simhachalaṁ inscription<sup>7</sup> of Muppamadēvi—Śaka 1310.

With the exception of the first which is a copper-plate grant, all are stone inscriptions.

- \* Nāmaya nāyaka of No. 1 in the above list, ruled a portion of Andhra maṇḍala extending from the river Gōdāvari to Kalinga, with the city of Pithāpura as his capital. He was the son of Prōlaya nāyaka; his wife was Chōḍamāmbā, and was a grand son of Koppula Kāpaya nāyaka. He bore the titles of "Paḡamechchugaṇḍa" and "Pratyardhigarva nirvāpaṇa"

The first inscription of this chief bearing the name of Kāpaya nāyaka is found at Gaṇapēśvaram in Dīvi taluk of the Krishna district. It records some gift made to god Gaṇapēśvara by a certain "Tumbiḍi Uppalapumbrōlu leṇka", a servant of Kāpaya nāyaka for the merit of his lord. It is said in this grant that Kāpaya had the title *Arumananganti puravarādhīśvara*. "Supreme Lord of the city of Arumannagatipura, the best of cities".

There is another inscription which refers to Kāpaya nāyaka, as *Andhradeśādhīśvara* and *Arumanangaṇṭipuravardhīśvara*. (Lord of

2 *Ep. Ind.* vol. IV, p. 356

3 *S.I.I.* vol. IV, No. 950.

4 'Sujata', vol. I, No. 2.

5 *S.I.I.* vol. VI, No. 821.

6 *S.I.I.* vol. VI, No. 924.

7 *S.I.I.* vol. VI, No. 822.

Andhradēśa. This is No. 3 of the list above.<sup>8</sup> It does not contain any other information about him.

The Simhāchalam inscription, dated Śaka 1282 records a gift of Kāpaya nāyaka to the temple and contains no other information.

The inscription at Simhāchalam dated Śaka 1291 records to a gift the temple by Koppula Nāmaya nāyaka, who is said to be a member of the fourth caste.

The last inscription of our list registers a gift of [Añ]dulāpalliṭ by Muppamadēvi, wife of Koppulayaṅgāru, to gōd Simhādrinātha, for the growth of prosperity to Koppulayaṅgāru and for the increase of her own life, health, fame and wealth. The date of this grant is Śaka 1310 Kārttika ba 7, Thursday.

Another inscription<sup>9</sup> of Simhāchalam, not included in the list given above, remains now to be considered. This record describes that Kāpaya was the king of Gudravāṭi *viśhaya*, surrounded by the Krishṇa and the Godāvāri. To Kāpaya, the Sāgara or the ocean of Koppula family, was born Prōlaya nāyaka. His son was Koppula nāyaka or Koppa Bhūpati. His son was Prōlaya nāyaka II. After describing the geneology thus far, the inscription informs us that the village of 'Andalāpalli' was given as a gift. As the remaining portion of the record is damaged, it is not possible to know the name of the donor. The first two figures of the Śaka years have disappeared; only the last two figures 10 are visible.

If we compare this inscription with No. 6 of our list, we discover that both the donors are one and the same. Further, No. 6 which is in Telugu appears to be the concluding portion of the grant which is not mentioned in the above, list, which describes the geneology of the Koppula

8 The Andhra Research Society of Hyderabad, have published this inscription, in their monthly journal '*Sujāta*', 2nd number, with the title "Pillalamarri Inscriptions". According to their reading, the name of the chief is "Kāchayā". The time of the chiefs of Gaṇapēśwaram and Pillalamarri inscriptions is almost the same. So also the title "*Arumanan-gaṇṭipuravarādhīśvara*". Both "*Arumanangallu*", and "*Arumanangallu*" mentioned in the Gaṇapēśwaram and Pillalamarri inscriptions are the same. This village may be identified with the present "Āmanagallu", ten miles distant from Pillalamarri in the Sūryāpēt taluk of Nalgonda district in the Nizam's Dominions. As the name of the village mentioned in the preamble and the time are almost the same, I thought "Kāchayā" was a misreading for "Kāpaya" and so included the inscription in the above list.

9 S.I.I. vol. VI, No. 823.

10 In S.I.I. vol. VI, the name of this village was read as [Aldulā-palli, which is a misreading. It should be Andalāpalli.



Only two inscriptions of Mummaḍi Nāyaka have been discovered hitherto. One is the Kōrukonda pillar inscription<sup>12</sup> of Śaka 1273; the other is the Śriangam Copper-plate grant<sup>13</sup> of Śaka 1280, in which, it is said that he married the daughter of the sister of Kāpayanāyaka. The same information is given by the Akkalapūṇḍi Copper-plate grant<sup>14</sup> of Singaya-nāyaka, brother of Mummaḍi nāyaka, dated Śaka 1290. This inscription gives the title of *Andhra Suratrāna* to Kāpayanāyaka. As both the titles *Andhradeśādhiśvara* (Overlord of Andhra Country) and *Andhra Suratrāna* (Sultan of Andhra) are identical, Kāpaya of the Akkalapūṇḍi record may be the same Kāpaya nāyaka, called *Andhra desādhiśvara* and *Arumananganṭipuravarēśvara*, of Gaṇapēśvaram and Pillalamaṅgi inscriptions, dated Śaka 1268 and Śaka 1275 respectively. The date also exactly tallis.

## IV

Now, there are three Nāyaks, who bore the name Kāpaya; one the father of Prōla I. the other is Kāpayanāyaka of Śaka 1282 (both of the Koppula family) and the third is Mummaḍināyaka's relative and contemporary, of the Pillalamaṅgi and Gaṇapēśvaram inscriptions, who bore the titles *Andhra desādhiśvara*, *Andhra Suratrāna* and *Arumananganṭi puravarādhiśvara*. One of these apparently, is identical with the Kāpaya nāyaka of the Kaluvachēru grant, who rescued the country from the Muhammadan yoke. We have to identify him and determine if by 'country', it means the whole of the Āndhradeśa, as we understand it now.

Rao Saheb H. Krishna Sastri identified the Kāpaya nāyaka of the Kaluvachēru grant with Mummaḍināyaka's relative and contemporary, who bore the title of *Andhra Suratrāna*<sup>15</sup>. But obviously this identification is wrong.

We know from the Kaluvachēru grant that prince Vēma was one of the seventy-five feudatory chiefs of Kāpaya nāyaka who became independent, after his overlord's death. He is the same as Prōlaya-Vēma, the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom, whose capital was Addaṅki. Hence, Kāpaya nāyaka should have passed away before Vēma commenced to rule independently.

12. *Govt. Ep. coll.* No. 44 of 1912.

13. *Ep. Ind.* Vol XIV, P 83.

14. *Ep. Ind.* Vol XIII, P 259.

15. *Ep. Rep.* for 1912-13, P 129.

The editor, Mr. K. Ramasastri, who published the Akkalapūṇḍi grant of Singaya nāyaka, accepted what the late Mr. Krishna Sastri had written, without verifying the truth of the statement:- Vide *Ep. Ind.* vol. XIII, P. 261.



But there is a good deal of difference of opinion, amongst the scholars, as regards the commencement of the reign of Vēma. Mr. J. Rāmayya Pantulu<sup>16</sup> is of opinion that it was Śaka 1242 while Mr. Ch. Virabhadra Rao, Author of the *History of the Andhras*, takes it to be Śaka 1246.<sup>17</sup> In my opinion both these dates are untenable. The Kākatiya Empire had not yet disappeared by Śaka 1244. There are inscriptions<sup>18</sup> of Kākati Pratāparudra II. of date Śaka 1244 in Kandukūr, a place still to the south of Addaṅki, the capital of Vēma. The last invasion by Muhammadans of Warangal took place in Śaka 1245 or 1323 A.D.<sup>19</sup> Even though we know that Pratāparudra was defeated by the Muhammadans and carried away as captive to Delhi, tradition says that he was set at liberty very soon.<sup>20</sup> As Rēcharla Singama nāyaka, one of the commanders of Pratāparudra, had the title of *Rājyabhināṭi vimśchaka*<sup>21</sup> there is reason to believe that he obtained that title by securing the release of his sovereign from captivity. Besides these, we find Pratāparudra's inscriptions till Śaka 1248. There is an inscription<sup>22</sup> of Kolani Rudradēva, chief minister of Pratāparudra, dated in the cyclic year *Kṣhaya*, corresponding to Śaka 1248, which records a gift for the merit of the king. Even in the Kaluvachēru grant there is a passage 'प्रतापरुद्रे स्वस्थानां स्वेच्छयैव यातवति'<sup>23</sup> which bears testimony to the fact that Pratāparudra passed away as a free man and not as a captive. The Muhammadan historians, too, do not say that Pratāparudra died in prison.<sup>24</sup> For these reasons, we may assume that Pratāparudra II. released from captivity, returned and reigned in the country till Śaka 1248 or A.D. 1326. We have, therefore, to conclude that Prōlaya nāyaka and Kāpaya nāyaka were probably the chiefs who rescued the Andhra country after Śaka 1248. Thus, Vēma could not have founded, and much less ruled an independent kingdom before that date, Śaka 1248 (A.D. 1326).

16. *Ep. Ind.* vol. VIII, P. 13.

17. *History of the Andhras* by Mr. Ch. Virabhadra Rao, Vol III, P. 13

18. Butterworth & Vēnugopāl chetty's *Nel- Ins.* vol. II. Kr no. 40, P. 561. There are some inscriptions of Kākati Pratāparudra II of Śaka date 1244, in Bapatla and Narsaraopeta talukas of the Guntur districts.

19. *Sarikhi- Mubarak- Shahi*: J. B. O. R. S, vol. XV, P. 180.

20. *Prātapa-charitra* (Telugu) by Ēkāmranātha (Published by the Śaivopachārini Granthamālā, Warangal), P. 76.

21. *History of the Andhras*, vol. II. p. 375.

22. *Govt. Ep. Coll* No 368 of 1915.

23. Above (first page of this article).

24. *Elliot and Dawson*, Vol III, P 367.

No inscription of Vēma, before Śaka 1251, has been discovered till now. *Local records* mention a copper-plate grant<sup>25</sup> of his, of Śaka 1254, which records the gift of the village of Varivēru (or Valivēru) to Rūpākula Brahmabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji, with the right of enjoyment of eight kinds of interest in the land. Its date is stated as follows:

शकाब्दे युगबाणभास्कर युते आंगीरस श्री समे

वैशाखे उडुपे द्विपे कुजदिने श्रीवेमभूपालकः।

ब्रह्मभट्ट महिसुराय नगरीं बर्वेदि ग्रामाभिधां

प्रादा दुज्जल दष्टभोगसहिता माचन्द्रतारार्कगम्।

The village granted was mentioned as Varivēru, which may be the present Valivēru, in Tenali taluq, Guntur district. This copper-plate grant has not yet come into the collection of the Epigraphical Department. If we set aside this grant as unauthentic, the copper-plate grant No. 5 of 1919—1920 of Śaka 1257 would be Prōlaya Vēma's first inscription, which records a gift of some plots of land in the villages of Chīmakurṭi, Chīmēśvaram, Purikoṇḍa, Mylavaram and Kumārapuri made to Chittāmaūri Timmanabhaṭṭa.

If the copper-plate grant of the *Local Records* is to be relied on, we may assume that Vēma began to reign independently from Śaka 1254 or a little before that date. In the alternative, we have to admit that he was ruling independently at least from about Śaka 1257 or A.D. 1335. From these two, whichever date we may assume as correct, it is conclusive that by Śaka 1257, Prōlaya and Kāpaya nāyaka passed away. Kāpaya nāyaka of the Kaluvachēru grant, therefore, could not be Kāpaya nāyaka either of the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of Śaka 1268 or of Pillalamarri inscription of Śaka 1275 or of Simhāchalam inscription of Śaka 1282. If these are thus eliminated, there remains Koppula Kāpaya nāyaka, father of Prōlaya nāyaka and grand-father of Koppula Nāmaya nāyaka; and he may be regarded as the person who rescued the country from the occupation of the Muhammadans and laid again the foundations of Hindu rule. In that case, he is identical with Kāpaya nāyaka of the Kaluvachēru grant.

## V

It now remains for us to find out the country, which the Nāyakas Prōlaya and Kāpaya had saved, and over which the latter is said to have reigned. As the inscriptions of the Koppula chiefs are found only along the east coast, it is doubtful whether Kāpaya bore sway

25. *Loc. Rec.* Vol, LVII, P 131.

over the entire extent of territory, which goes by the name of *Āndhradēśa* at present. As no inscription of his has come to light so far, all the available evidence has got to be further examined in this connection.

First, we shall consider the *Rāyalasīma* (Ceded Districts). This tract was under the control of the *Kākatīyas* until 1320 A. D. We are not able to know the rulers of this country in the succeeding years, as the epigraphical evidence is totally absent. However, the *Canārese* poem *Kumāra Rāmana Charita* informs us that these parts were included in the dominions of the kings of *Kaṁpili*.

*Kampilidēva*, son of *Mummaḍi Singa* was governing *Kuṇṭala*, with fort *Hosadurga* as his capital. He was frequently at war with *Vīra Rudra* (*Pratāprudra II.*) of *Warangal*. On one occasion, the *Padmanāyaka* chief *Singama* of the *Rēcharla* family, invaded the kingdom of *Kaṁpili*, at the head of a large army of *Reḍḍis*, *Padmanāyakas* and *Kshātrīyas*; but in a fierce battle, he was defeated and his camp plundered. However, *Kampilirāya* is said to have given him fifty horses, and concluded a treaty with him.<sup>26</sup>

It is hardly intelligible why the victorious *Kampilārāya* should have concluded a treaty with his vanquished foe, but such is the story narrated in the poem. If, however, as a consequence of this victory, *Rāyalasīma* was annexed to the Kingdom of *Kaṁpili* this event should have taken place after *Saka* 1242 or A. D. 1320; for we find the inscriptions of *Pratāparudra II.* in this region up to that date. But, it is not said in the poem, that the region was annexed to the Kingdom of *Kaṁpili*, as a consequence of this victory, yet there is one thing which leads to this inference. Prince *Rāmanātha* (*Kumāra Rāma*), son of *Kampilārāya*, after having vanquished the *Muhammadan* general *Nēmi*, sent against him by the Sultan of *Delhi*, celebrated the event of victory in his capital. It is said that among others, the ruler of *Rāyadurga*, *Pamparāja* of *Penugonḍi* (*Penugonḍa*), *Gangarāja* of *Gaṇḍikōṭa* and

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26. *Jour. Myth. Soc.* vol. XX, *Second Series*, October, 1929; See "*Studies in the Vijayanagar History*" by Mr. M. H. Ramasarma, Pp. 95-6. My friend, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D. has also given this story in his "*Kaṁpili and Vijayanagar*". His treaty portion differs from the above account, a little. According to his version, *Singamanāyaka* was not only defeated by *Kumāra Rāma*, but became his captive also. Then he was taken to *Kampilirāya*, who treated the commander with great respect and liberated him—Vide, "*Kaṁpili and Vijayanagar*", P. 9.

Kāchayya, the lord of Gutti attended the festival<sup>27</sup>. If they were not the subordinates of Kampilirāya, there could be no reason why they should have been in his capital at the time of the celebration of his victory. This is the only reason for presuming that they were his subordinates. The annexation of Rāyalasīma, if such an event really occurred, should have taken place between Śaka 1242 or A. D. 1320 and Śaka 1249 or A. D. 1327 because the kingdom of Kampili was destroyed by the Muhammadans in that year<sup>28</sup>.

To find out the truth of the story of *Kumāra Rāmana Charitā* it is necessary to see if we can discover the names of these chiefs, in any inscriptions found in their territories. We shall begin with Penugonda. No inscriptions of the rulers of Penugonda between the years A. D. 1320 and 1327 are discovered, and therefore it is not possible to know if the name of its governor was Pamparāja. Saṅgama, according to *Kumāra-rāmana Charita*, is said to have been the governor of Udayagiri. It is improbable that he was the ruler of that place; for, we find the inscriptions of chiefs of other dynasties in the neighbourhood of Kāvali and Kandukūr. The region around Kāvali was under the sway of a prince called Daśavarma in A. D. 1322<sup>29</sup>. Udayagiri was probably under his control. At Gaṇḍikōṭa we have inscriptions of the Kākatīya Pratāparudra II until A. D. 1320. If we can trust the *Kaifiyat* of Gandikōṭa, which refers to an inscription<sup>30</sup> of Pratāparudra, dated A. D. 1323, the Kākatīya rule may be considered to have lasted until that year. Nevertheless, the *Kaifiyat* speaks of a Chōla chief of the name of Gangarāja. Dēva Chōla Mahārāja, his son, laid siege to the fort of Jagatāpi Gutti and wrested it from its ruler Basava Śankara Rāja<sup>31</sup>. It is thus obvious that the ruler of Gutti at that time was not Kāchayya as the *Kumāra Rāmana Charita* would have us believe. We may regard the case of Gangarāja of Gaṇḍikōṭa as an accidental coincidence. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Kampilirāya's annexation remains still a matter of considerable doubt. Even if we assume that this fact was not included in Kampilarāya's dominions, it is not possible to maintain

27. *Jour. Myth. Soc.* Vol XX, Second series, Oct. 1929. "*Studies in Vijayanagar History*" P. 103.

28. "*Kampili and Vijayanagar*" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, P. 22

29. Buttorworth & Vēṇugōpālcheṭṭy's *Nel. Ins.* Vol II, Kv.No. 11, 707.

30. *Loc. Rec.* Vol XV. P 55.

This is a record of Gonkaya reḍḍi, a subordinate of Pratāparudra II. The record says that he was ruling at Gaṇḍikōṭa in Śaka 1245 or A.D 1323.

31. *Loc. Rec.* Vol XV, PP 51-52.

that the authority of Kāpaya nāyaka extended over it. As we find no evidence of his rule there, it is only reasonable to conclude that it did not form part of his Kingdom.

We shall next proceed to examine whether Kāpaya's rule was recognised in Telingāna. After the fall of Warangal, Telingāna passed for the first time into the hands of the Muhammadans. As the inscriptions of Pratāparudra II. dated in Śaka 1248 or A. D. 1326<sup>32</sup> are found, it is reasonable to suppose that the Kākatīya rule was recognised in Telingāna, nominally at least from A. D. 1323 to 1326. It was then incorporated within the empire of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, the emperor of Delhi, who had a revenue register prepared for the province<sup>33</sup>. He subdivided the province into two, in A. D. 1335-36 (Śaka 1257-58) for administrative convenience. Warangal, renamed Sultānpūr, was fixed as the capital of Northern Telingāna, while Bedadakōṭa or Bedar became the headquarters of Southern Telingāna. Malik Kabūl and Nasrat Khān were appointed as the governors of these two provinces respectively<sup>34</sup>. Under these circumstances, Kāpaya nāyaka could neither have expelled the Muhammadans from Telingāna, nor could he have established his rule over it.

The eastern Āndhradēsa extending along the Bay of Bengal remains yet to be considered. Although no inscriptions of Kāpaya nāyaka himself are found, several belonging to his descendants have been brought to light. King Vēma, who established the Kondaviḍu kingdom was one of his subordinates. As it is said in the inscriptions that after Kāpaya's death his subordinates asserted their independence in their respective charges, and as Addanki was king Vēma's capital, it appears as if the kingdom of Kāpabhūpati must have extended at least as far as Addanki, if not further. It is clear from this that the kingdom, which Prōlaya and Kāpaya are said to have saved, was confined to coastal region along the shores of the Bay of Bengal. We shall now make an attempt to determine the nature of relationship between Prōlaya and Kāpaya. It may be that after all they were not related to each other, but the opposite view also appears to be maintainable. Kāpaya nāyaka's son was Prōlaya I. According to the custom among the Andhras of naming the grandson after the grandfather, Prōlaya nāyaka (I.) might have been the father of Kāpaya nāyaka. If our surmise be correct, then Prōlaya, II., father of Kāpaya, should have lived at the commencement of the reign of Pratāparudra II. Having lived pretty long, he might have been still alive

<sup>32</sup> Govt. Ep. coll. No. 338 of 1915.

<sup>33</sup> J. R. A. S. 1922, p. 339. Mr. Haig says that this work would not have been finished within 1326 A. D.

<sup>34</sup> J. R. A. S. for 1922.

to expel the Muhammadans from the east coast after the destruction of Kākatiya power<sup>35</sup>. He might have been succeeded shortly afterwards by his son Kāpaya. But, it is mentioned in the Kaluvachēru grant that Kāpaya bore the burden of the kingdom at the command of Visvēsvara. Therefore, there is room enough for a doubt whether Prōlaya nāyaka was at all related to Kēpaya. If they were really father and son, why should Kāpaya nāyaka commence to rule over his paternal kingdom at any one's command? We cannot, however, assert anything owing to the lack of evidence.

## VI.

The Hindus, it is stated, had re-established their independence after expelling the Mahommadans from their country, during the later years of the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. Ziaud-din Barni<sup>36</sup> describes the rebellion thus:

"While this was going on, a revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal. Kanyā Naik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Makbūl, the *Naib Wazir*, fled to Delhi and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. About the same time, one of the relations of Kanyā Naik whom Sultān had sent to Kambala, apostatized from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala also was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus."

Ferishta<sup>37</sup> describes it in greater detail:

"This year (*Hijari* 744 = A. D. 1344) Krishn Naig, the son of Luddur Dew, who lived near Wurungole, went privately to Bilal Dew, Rajah of the Carnatic, and told him that he had heard the Mahomedans, who were now very numerous in the Daccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindus, that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them. Bilal Dew, convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishn Naig promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindoos of Wurungole and Telingana and put himself at their head. \*

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<sup>35</sup> *Zia-ud-Din Barni* states that when Arangal was taken, several Mughal armies attacked the frontiers but were repulsed (*Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. III, p. 234) Perhaps these might be the *Turushka* armies, whom Prōlaya nāyaka is stated in the Kaluvachēru grant, to have defeated.

<sup>36</sup> *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol III, p p. 245-6.

<sup>37</sup> *Brigg's Ferishta*, Vol, p 427.

(Bilal Dew) then raised an army and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naig, who reduced Wurungole and compelled Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlatabad. Bilal Dew and Krishna Naig, united to their forces the troops of the Rājahs of Maabir and Dwar Sumoodra, who were formerly tributaries to the Government of the Carnatic. The confederate Hindoos seized the country, lately occupied by the Mahomedans in the Deccan, and expelled them, so that within a few months Mahomed Toghluḱ had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlatabad."

The following points emerge from the accounts of Muhammadan writers. (i) That the person who, with the assistance of the other Hindu princes, set up an independant kingdom in Telingāna, is said by Ferishtā to be Krishna Nāyaka, son of Pratāparudra II. of Warangal, but Barni refers to him as Kañya nāyak and he has nothing to say about his relationship to Pratāparudra II. (ii) Both the historians agree in stating that the rebellion had broken out during the later years of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. Ferishta fixes the date in A. D. 1344., but Barni does not mention the date.

Mr. Haig, who has determined the chronology of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak's reign, after comparing the chronicles compiled by several Muhammadan writers, states that Warangal (Telingāna) became an independant state in *H. E.* 746 (*Śaka* 1267-1268 or A. D. 1345-46)<sup>38</sup>. Therefore the declaration of independence by the Āndhras may be dated in A. D. 1345-46.

It remains to be determined now, whether the leader, who was responsible for the establishment of the independence of Telingāna was a son of Pratāparudra II. We learn from Ēkāmranāthās *Pratāparudra charitra* that Pratāparudra II. had a son called Vīrabhadradēva, who is said to have retired, after the capture of Warangal by the Muhammadans, to the south of the Krishna, where he governed the province of Kondaviḱu for sometime<sup>39</sup>. No inscription of his has come to light so far. There is no reference to his rule in the Kalavachēru grant also. It is, therefore, doubtful whether Pratāparudra had a son of the name of Vīrabhadra.

According to Ferishta, Krishna Naig, who overthrew the Muhammadan yoke, was a son of Pratāparudra II., but this statement cannot be accepted as true. In the first place, the appellation 'nāyaka' is not suffixed to the names of the Kākatiya monarchs; it is, however,

38 Mr. Īśvaraprasad also is of opinion that this event took place in 1344-1345-Vide, *Medieval India*, p p 247-8.

39 *Pratāparudra charitra* by Ēkāmranātha, pp. '79-80.

usually attached to the names of the subordinate chiefs, dependent upon them: e.g., Māchaya nāyaka, Jāyāpa nāyaka, Muppiḍi nāyaka, Singama nāyaka etc. Moreover, Barni, who calls the leader of Telingāna rebellion Kanyā Nāyak, does not tell us that he was a son of Pratāparudra II. Ferishta is the only writer who speaks of the relationship between this Nāyaka and Pratāparudra. Epigraphical evidence, in the light of which the truth of Ferishta's statement can be tested, is totally lacking. Owing to these considerations, it is not possible to believe that Ferishta's Krishna Naig was Pratāparudra's son<sup>40</sup>. According to the custom among the Kākatiya subordinates, to style themselves as the sons of their kings, Krishna Naig, although a subordinate, might have called himself a son of Pratāparudra; and Ferishta, who could not have been aware of this custom must have taken the customary appellation 'son' as literally true. Probably, he was one of Pratāparudra's generals, or a tributary chieftain.

The Hindus were not able to maintain their freedom, which they had won after a strenuous struggle and they lost it before long. One of the rebellions that convulsed the Empire of Delhi during the later years of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak was headed by an officer called Jaffer Khān. Placing himself at the head of 20,000 horse, he marched upon the fortress of Bīḍar, which was then under the command of Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreeji but dared not attack it as it was defended by a powerful imperial force. Jaffer Khān, however, received reinforcements from the king of Telingāna, who despatched a body of 1,500 infantry; Nasir-ud-din Ismail, the rebel king of Daulatabad also sent 5,000 horse. Jaffer Khān was able to take the field against the imperialists with these forces. In a fierce battle, he defeated and slew Imad-ool-Moolk and occupied the fortress of Bīḍar.<sup>41</sup> Jaffer Khan crowned himself the king of Daccan and assumed the title of Bahman Shah. The new kingdom, which he had thus established, was known as the Bahmani kingdom.

Bhaman Shah could not allow the king of Telingāna to remain independant. In spite of the help, which he had received from the king of Telingāna, his feelings of gratitude were not strong enough to

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40. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar, M. A., states that this Krishnappa Nāyaka,—Ferishta's Krishna Naig—was the eldest son and successor of Pratāparudra II. But this statement cannot be substantiated with the evidence available to us.

41. Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol II, p. 289; Khāfi Khan—*Elliot & Doirson*, Vol III, p. 14. After being defeated by Kāpaya Nāyaka, Imad-ool-Moolk, the Governor of Warangal, retired to Daulatabad. By the time of Jaffer Khan's invasion he was in Bīḍar.



prevent him from making an attempt to subdue him, as soon as circumstances became favourable. He invaded Telingāna and occupied Kaulas and other places; but the king of that country concluded a treaty with Jaffer Khan (Bahman Shah) and agreed to pay him the tribute, which he was paying lately to the Sultan of Delhi 42. Bahman Shah is said to have treated the king of Telingāna with great consideration and generosity on account of the assistance which he had received from him in the past.

Although Ferishta, from whom we learn all this information, does not mention in this context, the name of the chief of Telingāna, there is no doubt that he is the same as Krishna Naig, who headed the rebellion against Muhammad-bin-Tughlak. Therefore, the freedom which the Hindus had established, was of short duration. In spite of the fact that the Hindu ruler of Telingāna became a tributary of Bahman Shah, the administration of the country was carried on by him without any outside interference.

Barni, who wrote a history of the Delhi Sultanate and not of the Daccan deals with the history of the latter only, so far, as it is connected with his subject. The long established connection between the Delhi Empire and the province of Daccan was shattered during the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak; and Barni, therefore, does not tell us whether the ruler of Telingāna, who asserted his independence became once again a subordinate of Bahman Shah. But we get some information about the history of Daccan from Syed Ali-bin-Aziz-ul-la Taba, the author of *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, which is considered to be a very reliable and authoritative work.

The relations between Bahman Shah and the king of Telingāna are described by this historian 43 in the following passage:—

“Sikandar Khān after his return sent a letter to Kanābāyand, who was *Wāī* of Telingāna asking him to send a present of some elephants for the use of his army. When Sikander Khān's letter reached Kanābāyand and he understood its contents, he wrote a reply, tendering his submission and sending a written treaty to that effect. He also expressed a great wish to meet him. Accordingly, Sikandar Khan with a large force proceeded towards Telingāna and a meeting between the two took place. Kanābāyand presented many valuable offerings and was made hopeful of much favour from the king. He sent two elephants and other suitable presents to the king through Sikandar Khān. The latter

42 Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol III, p. 294.

43 Major G. S. King's *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, . . . Also, p p. 9-10. in *Ind. Antiquary*.

on arrival at (?) sent the elephants to the Sultan and informed him of the good-will of Kanābāyand. The Sultan wrote a commendatory letter to Sikandar Khān and exalted him to the umberella; and he also conferred royal favours on Kanābāyand."

It is clear from what is said above that Kanābāyand of the *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* is the same as Ferista's Krisna Naig. The leader, who excited a rebellion in Telingāna against the government of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak and ultimately became the subordinate of Bahman Shah is called by different names by the Muhammandan writers: Barni calls him Kanyā Nāyak; Ferishtā, Krishn Naig and Ali-bin-Azizulla, Kanābāyand. As Azizulla's history is considered most trustworthy, we may take Kanābāyand as the real name of the Telingānā-rebel leader.

One small difficulty must, however, be noticed in this connection. Major King, who translated *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* into English, points out that in the British Museum manuscripts of the work, the name is spelt variously: Kananāda, Kabānand, Kanānāyand and Kabānāyand<sup>44</sup>. The word in all its various forms falls into two halves; Kabā + nand, Kana + nida, Kanā + nāyand and Kabā + nāyand. The second part represents the transliteration of the corrupt forms of the Telugu words నాయకుడు or నీడు. This is a mere title, a contracted form of నాయకుడు, suffixed to the personal names of the higher classes of the fourth caste. Here it is added to the personal name Kanā or Kaba. As the last three forms resemble one another and as the first has no such resemblance with any other, therefore, it does not appear to be the correct form. It is not intelligible why Major King used the form Kanābāyand without accepting Kabānand or Kanāyand. We know that the name of the ruler of Telingana terminated with the word nāyak: So, we may take that the name of the leader may be either Kabānāyāk or Kanānāyāk.

We have already shown that this Nāyak asserted his independence between Śaka 1266 or A. D. 1344 and Śukā 1269 or 1346. A chieftain of the name of Kāpayanāyaka is spoken of in the inscriptions of Ganapēśvaram and Pillalamāgri which belonged to this time. He is said to have borne the titles *Andhra Deśādhiśvara* and *Anulhra Suratrāna*. I believe that he is the person whom Azizulla refers to as Kabānāyāk (Kabānāyand) in his history. He appears to have borne the titles *Andhra Deśādhiśvara*, and *Andhra Suratrāna*, by virtue of his victories over the Mussalmans and the establishment of an independant Andhra kingdom. There was no reason why he should have given up his titles, after submission to Bahman Shah. Pratāparudra II. continued to bear his

44 Ibid, p 9;—See footnotes Nos. 15 and 17.

ancestral titles, even after his subjugation by the Sultan of Delhi. On account of these considerations, I believe that the form Kabānāyand (Kabānāyak-Kāpayanāyaka) of Azizulla is the correct name of the rebel chief of Telingāna. I identify him with Kāpaya-nāyaka bearing the titles of *Āndhra dīśādhipati* and *Andhra Suratrāṇa*, mentioned in the Ganapavaram and Pillalamarri inscriptions. He appears also to have been a contemporary and relation of Mummaḍināyaka.

It was probably through the help of such a powerful chief as Kāpaya-nāyaka that Mummaḍi nāyaka and others were able to establish a new kingdom on the banks of the Gōdāvary and rule with Korukonḍa as their capital after expelling the chiefs of the Koppula dynasty of Piṭhāpuram, who had to retire in consequence to Kalinga in the north. That is probably the reason why we find the inscriptions of the latter members of the Koppula family at Simhāchalam.

## THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE KAKATIYAS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A. (HONS). M.R.A.S.

The Kākatiya dynasty of Warangal has not yet received from scholars, the attention that it deserves. A good many records of this important dynasty have been summarised in the Annual Reports of the Epigraphical Department. The volume of "*Telingānā Inscriptions*", which will be shortly released for publication by the '*Lakshmana rāya Parisodhaka Maṇḍali*' Hyderabad, brings to light many records of unique importance. Tradition and Literature also contain many interesting facts about the Kākatiyas. Thus far only two attempts have been made to reconstruct the history of this dynasty. A chapter has been included about the Kākatiyas in the '*Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*'.<sup>1</sup> But that is based entirely on inscriptions till then known and is sketchy. A more satisfactory attempt is that found in the latter half of the second volume of the *History of the Andhras*.<sup>2</sup> Much new matter has come to light since the publication of this work and many facts need alteration. The problems connected with the origin of the Kākatiyas and their rise to power have been discussed by me elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> An attempt is being made in this essay to trace the political history of the Kākatiya period, in the light of the material now available.

Prōla II. was the most famous of the earlier Kākatiyas. He was the grandson of Prōla I, the earliest known member of the family and son of Bēta alias Tribhuvana Malla. Very little is known about Prōla's father and grandfather. Apart from the Anumakonḍa inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> very few records of Prōla II, have been known till recently. The Telingana Inscriptions bring to light three records which establish the identity of Prōla.<sup>5</sup> His military exploits are known from his son Rudra's Anumakonda inscription.<sup>6</sup> Traditional Histories throw light on the building—activity of this monarch.<sup>7</sup>

The Chronology of the reign of Prōla II. is a matter of much difficulty and has not been attempted by previous writers. This monarch's

1 K. V. S. Iyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*.

2 C. Virabhadrarao's *Andhrula Charitra*,

3 Introduction to the *Telingana Inscriptions*.

4 I. A. XI p. 276, E. I. IX p. 256.

5 Telingana Ins. Kak. Nos. 1, 3, 4.

6 I. A. XI P. 272 and also E. I. III Ganapesvaram Ins.

7 The *Pratāpacharitam*.

1041  
72 119  
Anumakonda inscription is dated S. 1039.<sup>8</sup> Another record is available and mentions a Prōla in S. 1037;<sup>9</sup> there is nothing to militate against the identification of this Prōla with Prōla II. Since the latter is very near the more definitely known date, Prōla may be said to have commenced his rule in A. D. 1115. There is much uncertainty about his last regnal year. Consequently, it has to be inferred from the initial year of his son and successor Rudra. This date is contained in an inscription from Drākshārāma of the year S. 1010.<sup>10</sup> It is evident then that Prōla must have died before that year. It is known that Prōla aided Bijjala, the Kāla-churi usurper in 1158 A.D., in dethroning Taila III, the Western Chalukyan sovereign.<sup>11</sup> This fact, read together with the commencement of Rudra's reign in the same year, leads us to conclude that Prōla died early in the year 1158 A.D. Thus, he must have had a long rule of forty-three years.

The Telugu country was in a chaotic condition when Prōla ascended the Kākatiya throne at Anumakonda in the first quarter of the twelfth century. The Chālukyas of Kalyān were making rapid progress both in the Dekkan and in the South. They had conquered the whole of modern Telingāna and reached the borders of the Vēngī country. Ir the East, the sons of Kulōttunga I., the Chālukya-chōla emperor were governing the country as viceroys. Their weak and inefficient rule led to the rise of many minor ruling families, chief of whom were the Velnādu rulers.<sup>12</sup> The attention of the Chālukyas of Kalyān and of the Chālukya-Chōlas of the South was focussed on the Velnādu country and there was continuous fighting for its possession. While Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukyan monarch was thus engaged, his feudatories were busy with their own quarrels. This state of affairs gave a good opportunity for a courageous and ambitious young warrior to assert himself and evolve a separate principality for himself out of the prevailing chaos.

A number of Chālukyan viceroys were ruling in the neighbourhood of the Sabbi rōo district which Prōla inherited from his father.<sup>13</sup> Naturally therefore, Prōla came into conflict with these rulers at the outset and his military exploits in this connection are narrated in the Anumakonda record of his son Rudra.<sup>14</sup> Dr. Fleet and H. Krishnasastri have identified most of these Kākatiya rivals.<sup>15</sup> But a number of inscriptions from the Nizam's dominions upset their identifications and lead to

8 E. I. IX p. 256. —

9 E. R. No. 216 of 1915. —

10 S. I. I. IV No. 1107. —

11 Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan p. 222 (3rd Edn.)

12 Vide My paper on The Velnādu Chiefs in the J.A.H.R.S. vol IV pt. 1 & 2

13 E. I. IX p. 256.

14 I. A. XI p. 272.

15 Ibid and E. I. III. The Ganapēsvaram Inscription

fresh ones.<sup>16</sup> Some of the rivals of Prōla were Tailapadeva, Govindaraja, Gunda and Jagaddeva. It is said that Prōla "captured in battle Tailapadeva, the ornament of the Chālukyan family, but released him out of devotion and affection". Dr. Fleet identified this Taila with Taila III. of the Western Chālukyan dynasty and thought that this fight must have taken place while Prōla was still a prince, unless it is supposed that he had a very long reign. We have already shown that Prōla had a long reign of forty years. A number of records from Telingana prove that Taila was yet a prince and Chālukyan viceroy when this fight took place. An inscription from Pānagal mentions that while Tribhuvanamalla was ruling at Kalyān, Bhīma and Gōkarna obtained Brahmapurī from Tailapadeva, son of the Emperor.<sup>17</sup> A Nekkonda record says that Tailapadeva came from his capital Kōḍūr and made gifts at Nekkonda in C.V.E. 46.<sup>18</sup> A third from Būpapūr mentions the same.<sup>19</sup> All the places mentioned above are in the neighbourhood of Anumakonda and the date C.V.E. 46 (A.D. 1122) falls within the reign of Prōla. It is evident then, that Tailapadeva was the Chālukyan viceroy at Kōḍur. The Anumakonda inscription also tells us that Prōla re-released Taila out of pity and devotion. This could not be for Taila himself. Inscriptions show that Prōla was a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI. in the earlier part of his reign. Hence, it must be Prōla's devotion for this monarch that led to his release of Taila.

The next rival of Prōla was Govindarāja whom Krishna Sastri identifies with the Govindarasa of the Ablur inscription, the nephew of Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapālāyya and ruler of Kondapalli.<sup>20</sup> Many records from Dakshārāma show that this General was in possession of the Vengi country between 1120—23 and defeated by Gonka II, of the Velnāḍu family.<sup>21</sup> An inscription from Nalgonda in the Hyderabad State mentions him in S. 1045 (1123 A.D.)<sup>22</sup> From this it may be inferred that after his defeat Govindaraja withdrew into the modern Telingāna, probably after the death of Vikramaditya VI. in 1127. Prōla defeated this general.

Another rival was Guṇḍa of Mantrakūṭa, on whom Prōla is said to have inflicted severe humiliations. It has been believed that this Mantrakūṭa is identical with the village of Mantena in the Nuzvid Zamīndārī of the Krishna district.<sup>23</sup> But this view seems to be untenable.

16 Vide my Intro. to Telingana Ins.

17 Tel. Ins. ch. 37.

18 Ibid ch. 33.

19 Ibid ch. 24.

20 J. A. XI p. 272.

21 Vide My paper on The Velnāḍu Chiefs.

22 Vide Sujata Jan. 1927.

23 See Krishnasastri's Ganapesvaram Ins. in E. I. III.

Mantena is too far off from Anumakonda to be included in the zone of Prōla's military activities. Nearer the Kākatiya capital, on the river Godavary, in the Hyderabad state there is a village called Manthani which is associated both in the Local Records and in living popular tradition with the Kakatiyas.<sup>24</sup> The sequel to this engagement between Prōla and Guṇḍa is given in the Rāmappagudlu inscription of Rēcherla Rudra Sēnāni.<sup>25</sup> It is said therein that Kāmachamūpati of the Rēcherla family pursued this Manthanya Guṇḍa and slew him. So the Guṇḍa of the Anumakonda inscription must be identified with the ruler of Manthina.

Jagaddēva was by far the most powerful of Prōla's enemies. It is said that he gathered together all his co-feudatories and besieged Anumakonda. This Jagaddēva has been identified by Dr. Fleet with the Sānbāra chieftain of that name ruling at Pontumpambacchupura in modern Mysore state. Like Manthana above, this place is also too distant from Prōla's capital. There is a Jagaddēva figuring nearer Anumakonda, as the ruler of the Dharmapuri and Lēmūlavāḍa region. An inscription from Ganapavaram not only reveals this chieftain but confirms the fact of his struggle with Prōla. According to this record Jagaddēva succeeded Dēvabhūpāla and after him Prōla the Kakatiya king ruled.<sup>26</sup> At Naganūr there is an inscription which mentions that in C.V.E. 4. Dommerāju, Jagaddēva and Mēdarāju fought with an army of 80000.<sup>27</sup> A record from Lēmūlavāḍa mentions that place as the capital of Jagaddeva in S. 1051 (A.D. 1109).<sup>28</sup> It may be concluded that this was the chieftain defeated by Prōla.

The facts noted above show that Prōla must have started his victorious campaign towards the close of the reign of Vikramaditya VI, and that most of the chieftains conquered by him were either generals or viceroys of the Western Chalukyas and rulers in the immediate neighbourhood of Anumakonda. That Prōla's aggressive career went on unchecked is shown by the independent style of his later records. Sōmēśvara III is said to have fought with an Andhra king; this was probably Prōla II, and the fight must have resulted in the weakening of the Chālukyan power. Nothing untoward seems to have happened during the reign of Jagadēkamalla II. By 1150 A.D. Taila III ascended the Chālukyan throne and by that time Prōla had completed his conquests. The Warangal Mahaboobnagar, Karimnagar and Nalgonda districts came completely under his subjection and his dominion reached the borders of the Velṇādu

<sup>24</sup> Vide *Pratāpacharitam*, the *Ekasilānagara Vrittantam*.

<sup>25</sup> Hyt. Arch. Series No. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Tel. Ins. k. 18.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid ch. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Bharati vol. VI No. 5.

country in the east. In A.D. 1158 an important event took place which undermined the power of the Chalukyas of Kalyān and led to the formal proclamation of independence by Prōla II. Bijjala, the Kalāchuri feudatory overthrew Taila with the aid of Prōla and Vijayārka, the ruler of Kolhapur.<sup>29</sup> This shows the powerful position of Prōla. The Chalukyan dominion was torn into pieces. Prōla took advantage of this opportunity and consolidated his territory into an independant kingdom.

The few inscriptions of this monarch's reign bring to light a number of his officers. His Canarese record at Anumakonda mentions the minister Beta who was a great scholar and was renowned for his charities. His wife Mailama instituted the temple of Kadalālaya on the hill at Anumakonda. This is the earliest known structure of the Kakatiya period.<sup>30</sup> Mahāsāmanta Mallenāyaka was another subordinate of Prōla and is known from an inscription at Mātūr in the Warangal district.<sup>31</sup> A record from Karimnagar<sup>32</sup> reveals the name of the minister Gangādhara who was commissioned by Prōla to look after the affairs in the royal palace.

Prōla seems to have been a great builder of temples and tanks. He is said to have instituted Jalandhāresvara Bhairava at Inugurti<sup>33</sup> and constructed a big tank called Jagatkēsarīn. Tradition ascribes to him the foundation of Ēkaśilānagara, the modern Warangal and the capital of the Kākatiyas in their halcyon days.<sup>34</sup> Mention has been already made of the Kadalālaya temple at Anumakonda built in the time of Prōla.

It is not known how this monarch met with his end. Tradition mentions that he was slain by his own son in the Svayambhu temple, by oversight.<sup>35</sup> But inscriptions seem to imply a different and probably more reliable version. In a Dākshārāma inscription Choda II (1163-81) of the Velnadu family is called "Kākati-Prōla-Nirdahana".<sup>36</sup> We have shown above that Prōla ceased to reign in A. D. 1158. We have to conclude therefore that Choda II. must have achieved this feat while yet a prince. This naturally leads us to infer that after the fall of Taila III in 1158, Prōla invaded the Velnādu country which lay immediately to the south-east of his dominion. The ruler of Velnādu at this time was Gonka II. The latter's son, Choda must have fought with Prōla and in all probability, killed him.

29 Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, p. 222.

30 E. I. IX p. 256.

31 Tel. Ins. k. 4.

32 Ibid k. 5.

33 Ibid k.

34 The Pratāpacharitam.

35 Ibid.

36 S. I. I. Vol 1 V No. 1242. ✓



Thus was the kingdom of the Kākatiyas founded. Prola was a great warrior, with much foresight and unparalleled military skill. He was a great opportunist. Hurling defiance in the face of the weaker successors of a falling monarch, he contended against a heterogeneous complex of Chalukyan feudatories, worsted each of them with the thoroughness and vigour, struck the final blow at the shadow of the Chalukyan power and laid the foundations of an independant Andhra Kingdom which was to last for two and a half centuries and turn the tide of events in the Dekkan and South India. Prōla must have started his military career early in his youth and lived to a ripe old age. It is no exaggeration to say that he lived, fought and died for the Kākatiya kingdom. How his son Rudra who was a greater warrior and greater statesman expanded the kingdom into the Kakatiya Empire and stabilised Andhra rule in the Dekkan, will be shown in the following chapters. ~

## THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL . RECORDS COMMISSION.\*

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

The 13th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in Patna on Monday the 22nd instant, at 11 a. m. under the presidentship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar M.A., Kt. C.I.E.

Fifty members of the Commission including the Representatives of the several Local Governments and Universities and Native States attended.

Opening the proceedings of the meeting His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, said:—

Gentlemen,

I am very glad indeed to welcome the Indian Historical Records Commission to Patna for its thirteenth session. I will not reproach the Commission for not coming here sooner inasmuch as one of the original objects of the Commission was to advise and stimulate the various Governments in the matter of the historical value of their records and the necessity of properly preserving them and the fact that we come so low down on the list might be taken as a compliment implying that we need no stimulus, though always thankful for advice. But the main reason I take it is that we are a very young Province and that at the time of our creation in 1912 Bengal decided, probably rightly, that there was no justification for breaking up the records of the old Subah of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, though I am not sure that there may not have been an element of the feeling that we were too young to be entrusted with these important matters. It was decided that we should only have the current records, and, as a working arrangement, it was settled that anything before the Mutiny should be regarded as an historical record. For those written official records of our past history we have to go to Calcutta and I should like to bear testimony to the consideration and assistance we invariably receive from the authorities there when we have occasion to consult these records.

\* The Writer of the article was deputed by the Society to attend the I.H.R. Commission and the All-India Oriental Conferences held at Patna in December 1930. He was co-opted as a Member of the Commission by the Government of India and deputed to attend it by the Madras Government. He is again selected by the Government of India as a Corresponding Member of the Commission till 1933.

For Government papers therefore of real antiquity in this Province we can only look to the district record room, and I remember that when I was an Under-Secretary in Calcutta, long before the partition, these district record rooms were fairly thoroughly ransacked and some of their treasures brought to Calcutta for preservation. You will however, hear presently from Mr Kamal Krishna Bose a paper on the nature and range of the Bihar and Orissa Records, the fruits of an examination conducted by him under the guidance of your President, Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Mr. Mitra; too who has carried on Sir Jadunath's work after he left us, is also reading a paper and I will therefore leave this subject to them; if I ventured to touch on it I might trip up and I feel sure that they would be very uncomfortable at having to expose my ignorance. But a "Sarkari hukum" altering the boundaries of the province cannot take away from the people their history. The Commission's main concern is with written documents, but you would be the first to admit that written records do not by themselves carry far the history of a country like India. Comparatively soon we get below the solid foundation of written records and wander in the dim caves where inscriptions, excavations, coins and so forth are our only lights. In this field we claim that we have found much treasure and there are still vast accumulations to reward the patient explorer. Those of you who have attended the Oriental Conference and the Numismatic Society's meetings will know the work that our Research Society and our individual enthusiasts have done and the pride we take in the history of our past. Taking only the comparatively recent period of history there is much to be learnt of historical and human interest from such things as old inscriptions in the Christian burial grounds, the list of which Mr. Justice James, one of the Corresponding members of the Commission, has undertaken to revise.

But even within your own more particular field I am certain that there is much material outside Government record rooms which has not yet seen the light of day. The old families of Bihar, the priestly families and the old chieftains of Orissa, with their long genealogies rooting far back into the past must, I am sure, have written Sanads and other records which have escaped destruction and are stored away in their archives, possibly forgotten even by the family traditions. The main reason for expanding your body from a small Committee of experts to a wider Commission of zealous students of history, with Corresponding members, was to endeavour to draw forth historical treasures from their unknown hiding places; and your experience of the past few years has shown that the interest stimulated by your sessions, by the attendance of the public at the reading of fascinating and often romantic stories of history has set those who had hitherto been indifferent, and had cared for none of these things, to a search that has produced most valuable finds. From this point of view I specially welcome your presence in Patna under the presidency

of Sir Jadunath Sarkar whose consuming zeal is familiar to us and whose advice on historical research at a recent Convocation of the Patna University is still ringing in our ears. I trust that the good seed he sowed will produce its harvest of research workers among graduates and undergraduates and the presence of Mr. Khosala as a delegate from the University is a proof that the University's interest and assistance will not fail you. I appeal now to the wider public to help in the work; let those who possess family or State records have them scientifically examined, and submit to experts all documents that may even remotely prove to be of historical interest, and let those who possess none use their influence to rouse their more fortunate brethren. As His Excellency the Viceroy said last year, "No nation can afford to ignore the story of its past. No people can properly develop without a knowledge of the factors which have gone to make them what they are." The possessors of these documents are in a sense trustees for the public; the expense of fulfilling their trusteeship is trifling and we have now an ever-growing band of research students who will make the labour easy. May the session of the Commission in Patna, which in the matter of historical interest, refuses to yield the plan to any other city, lead to a zealous search for further historical records which I am convinced will be successful.

Sir Jadunath Sarker, then spoke as follows:—

On behalf of the members of the Historical Records Commission I thank your Excellency for the cordial welcome you have extended to us on our first visit to this province. To my regret, and I am sure, you share my feelings, Sir Frank Noyce, our official President is unable to attend owing to pressure of public business at Delhi and we have been thus deprived of his experience, suavity and tact in conducting our deliberations. He has conveyed to us his best wishes for our success and interest for our work.

We have long felt that our task should remain incomplete so long as we did not hold a session in Bihar and study the records of a province which yields to none in the importance of the part it has played in shaping India's destiny from the dawn of recorded history. If I may be permitted to mingle a personal strain on this occasion, I shall confess that, having been a member of this Commission ever since its foundation, it would have been a great disappointment to me if I did not see my colleagues brought into personal touch with the workers among the records of this province. I owe no small debt to Bihar; I have spent my entire active career, less than three years, in this province. I may even claim Patna as my spiritual home. Here I have found opportunities unequalled elsewhere in India for studying the past history of India at its fountain head. Here I have received a living inspiration from the great monuments of the past all round.

us. The call to help in arranging and listing the British records of the province came to me so late that I had not half completed the work before I was suddenly removed to another sphere of activity. The history of Bihar and the progress of historical investigation here cannot but be matters of the deepest interest to me and I am glad to see from the range and quality of the local contribution of papers at this session that the future is full of promise.

This being the first occasion when the local public have seen this Commission, it may not be unnecessary for us to introduce ourselves. This Commission originated in a very small body of official Record Keepers and historical experts formed by the Government of India to advise it and the local Governments as to the best treatment of their records, the proper method of caring for, preserving, weeding out, listing and editing them and deciding the problems that arise from time to time regarding the work of Government Record Offices. But it was soon realised that not all the historical records even of the British period are in Government's hands, but many private persons, specially representatives of historical families, possess documents of first rate importance some time unique in their nature, for the reconstruction of India's past annals, and that unless these resources are made known and available to scholars it would be as impossible to write a true and full history of India as it would be to write the history of England without using the paper in the possession of Cecil and Walsingham, Buckingham and Grenville families. Sir Henry Sharp, therefore, planned to interest the outer public in our work and to tempt private records out of their seclusion by adding to our original technical deliberations a public session in which all could join and where papers of general interest would be read to illustrate what records are known to exist and how they throw new light on our country's past. The Exhibition has been our most helpful auxiliary for this purpose and in many cases it has made our history live before our eyes once again. This natural endeavour to complete our work found a striking appreciation last year when, for the first time, we met in an Indian State at its invitation. I am glad to have noticed in our sessions as well as in the course of my frequent travels a keen awakening in the Indian States as to the need of exploring the past achievements of their ruling dynasties and the history of their territory by rising above the stage of legends and bardic traditions and securing an authentic basis of facts it might be acceptable to historians abroad. Nearly all the great States now send their delegates to our annual meeting. As a life-long student of Indian history, I do hope that the cultural nexus thus begun between British and Indigenous India of both sides by the States organising their records offices on modern lines, arranging and cataloguing their papers, and throwing them open to

genuine research workers of all provinces under the safeguards usually observed in the British Record Offices, and that on the other hand Record Officers and Research students selected by the Indian States would be given by the British Government in its own archives, opportunities of learning the proper method of handling records and for exploring such records in British possession as relate to the history of their respective States. As an illustration, I may mention that the recent examination of only a portion of the Peshwas' Daftar in Poona has revealed a vast and virgin field for research in which British India and the Deccan States (Hyderabad and Mysore, no less than the Maratha principalities) can most usefully co-operate, for, without such co-operation the exploration of such a vast and varied mass of documents cannot be satisfactorily completed within a reasonable length of time, nor the result of the research made available to scholars. This is a line of operation which this Commission in the interests of scholarship may well recommend to the Bombay Government and the States concerned.

In connection with this body of records, the Commission will be glad to learn what the Bombay Government has done during the last twelve months, and I am sure the Commission will join the world of scholarship outside in thanking that Government for doing so much. In this year of severe financial stringency and harassing distraction, due to the organised lawlessness, the Bombay Government has pushed on the exploration and sorting of the Peshwas' Daftar by a competent staff and already issued two admirably printed volumes containing the Maratha records relating to the Udgir and Panipat campaigns from these archives. The changes in our personnel this year are few. Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has taken the place of Mr. G. S. Sardesai whose three years term expired last October. We have thus lost the benefit of the ripe experience of this veteran historian of the Marathas who has been working among the Poona records so strenuously and fruitfully. Rao Bahadur Krishnaswami Aiyangar will, for the next three years, represent Madras, which had no permanent member since Mr. Dodwell left, excepting Mr. Julian Cotton for a short time.

After the President's reply, 24 papers or their summaries were read and they dealt with the methods of record-keeping, range and nature of records of different provinces and districts, sanads and inscriptions on tombs, and the commercial history of Patna.

At 4-30 P.M. the members of the Commission were photographed with His Excellency on the northern steps of the Patna Museum. At 4-40 P.M. the Historical exhibition was declared open to the Public by His Excellency. The exhibits consisted of Farman's, Letters, Coins, Weapons, Historical paintings, Manuscripts, Portrait Albums, Pictures, Seals, Copper-plates

and Imperial and Provincial records as well as records from Native states, Public institutions and private individuals. All these were of great historical interest.

At 5 P. M. Tea was provided for all Members of the Commission on the terrace of the Museum at the kind invitation of the Hon'ble the Minister of Education of Bihar and Orissa, and with this, the day's functions came to an end.

On 23rd December, at 8 A. M. all the members assembled at the Patna Museum and were first shown round the Museum and then the Golah, the Oriental Public Library and the site of the Dutch Factory, till 11 A.M.

The following accounts of the places visited, taken from *A short account of Patna* issued by the Local Officer of the Commission, will be found interesting:—

#### Patna Museum.

The Museum was opened in 1929 and is "a handsome building in Rajput style, richly embellished with Agra carved stone work".

The prehistoric section contains interesting palaeoliths, collected in the Ranchi and Singhbhum Districts and elsewhere, by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray and others; copies of rockpaintings from the Raigarh State and elsewhere, made under the supervision of the Curator, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh; and neolithic celts. There is a fine collection of copper axeheads, besides other prehistoric antiquities.

In the collection of historical antiquities, perhaps the finest single piece is the Didarganj statue of the Mauryan period with mirror-like polish. The Bulandibagh stone-capital is a fine specimen of a sculptured architectural piece, and is of great historical importance. Another interesting exhibit is the Bulandibagh chariot-wheel. Specially noteworthy among the Pataliputra finds (from the Kumarahar and Bulandibagh excavations) are the famous "laughing" boy and girl (terracotta heads), the so-called Bodh Gaya terracotta votive plaque the picture of which is given on the membership card, a gold signet-ring and a unique collection of glass seals with Brahma legend. A speciality of the Museum is the fine collection of terracotta figurines from excavations of the following sites, viz., Pataliputra, the University area, Behva Buxar and Basarh. The last-named site proved particularly rich in clay seals. Other exhibits, which deserve special mention, are the sandstone coping, the vase-shaped pedestal from the Chankrama Manjusri figure and a seated Buddha figure in Bhumpispors Mudra (all from Bodh Gaya), and the unsoiled Gupta pillar from Bihar Sharif. Two fine Bodhisattva figures from Hasrakol are beautiful examples of medieval art.

The Museum possesses a collection of estampages of all the important inscriptions of the Province and a fine plaster-cast of the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. There is a valuable collection of medieval copper-plate grants, mainly obtained from the Orissa Feudatory States. The earliest copper-plate is one of King Pravarasena II of the Vakataka dynasty, *circa* 5th century A. C.

The numismatic section is particularly interesting. In addition to the very fine collection of early punchmarked and cast coins, the Museum possesses a collection of Gupta coins which is one of the finest of its kind outside the British Museum, besides tribal coins of Indo-Parthian, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Kushan Kings, Pathan and Mughal coins. A unique specimen is the portrait, with goblet of wine, and a gold coin of Jahangir and the gold Asvamedha coin of Kumargupta.

The Museum possesses an ethnological collection of considerable local interest containing three new plaster models of Mundas nicely done, a representative geological collection (including a fossil tree about 52 feet in length, found near Asansol, and a small industrial collection; and among the miscellaneous exhibits may be mentioned the Sati stones from Manbhum and some unique Medieval Buddhist sculptures from Orissa.

### **Pataliputra Excavations.**

Scholars at first thought that some other town was the ancient Pataliputra. The doubt was set at rest by the Jaina inscription at Gulzarbagh. The identification has been confirmed by excavations. It was Col. Waddell who started afresh the identification of the ancient town. Mr. P. C. Mukerji first excavated near the town, and located Kumhrar. Near Kumhrar is the Patna Dargah, where Mr. Jayaswal discovered the arch-stone with Pre-Asokan letters (now in the Patna Museum).

At Kumhrar, Dr. Spooner excavated the hundred-pillared Hall. The Bodh Gaya terracotta Plaque with Kharosthi inscription and Brahmi glass seals are objects which were obtained at the site and now housed in the Patna Museum. On the site we can see the stone pillar still lying with mason marks at the bottom. In the pit, when dry, one can see wooden planks which date from the Mauryan times.

Not far from this, on the south, are the mounds of Pahari where no systematic excavation has been made, but which, according to Fa-Hian's description, should contain two inscribed pillars of Asoka.

Within a furlong from Kumhrar to the North-West is the Bulan-dibagh site. Here the Palisades were traced by Dr. Spooner. Raj Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh excavated the military earthen wall, flattened by palisades, which has been identified as the Kardama bita, of the Gaya Samhita by Mr. Jayaswal. A sketch of the Palisade can be seen in the



Museum done under the direction of the Curator when he was excavating the site. Bulandibagh has yielded a good collection of terracotta figurines which every Museum will like to have. They show a variety not met with elsewhere. The wooden wheel, the gold signet ring, a small bronze mirror, some glass seals with Brahmi legends are also objects of interest obtained from Bulandibagh. At the back of the University buildings deep trenches were excavated for constructing underground drains. The late Mr. V. H. Jackson, Principal, Patna College, collected interesting objects excavated from that place. All the antiquities excavated from various Pataliputra sites are now exhibited in the Patna Museum.

### The Gola.

The Gola, is an enormous granary, built in the shape of a bee-hive in 1786 "for the perpetual prevention of famine in these provinces". From the top of it, the party could see the whole city and the rivers.

### Oriental Public Library.

The Khuda Bakhsh Library (to call it by the name by which it is commonly known) is one of the finest collections of Islamic literature in the world.

Khan Bahadur Khuda Bakhsh, C.I.E., the founder of the Library, was born at Chapra, in 1842. His family, which was of scholarly traditions, came originally from Delhi, settled down at Chapra, and removed to Bankipore soon after Khuda Bakhsh was born. His father, Muhammad Bakhsh, had a passion for Persian and Arabic literature, and though not a rich man succeeded in adding over 1,000 MSS. to the small library he had inherited. On his death-bed in 1876, he committed to his son the task of adding to the collection and converting it into a public library; in spite of all obstacles (financial and otherwise), Khuda Bakhsh fulfilled this solemn trust to the latter. Before his death, in 1908, he had enriched the collection by the addition of some 3,500 Persian and Arabic MSS. (many of rare, and some of unique, value); he spent Rs. 63,000 in the acquisition, in England, of a fine collection of standard English works, handsomely bound (including, among other rare and valuable books, a set of the first edition of the *Waverley Novels*); in 1881, at a cost of Rs. 80,000, he erected a library building, which has been aptly described as "a worthy setting for the jewels it contains"; and he opened his library to the public in 1891. Lord Curzon's interest was aroused in the Library, which he visited in 1903; and a garden was added to the library premises, and the work of publishing a catalogue, worthy of the collection, was taken in hand under the guidance of Sir Denison Ross, then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa. This admirably planned catalogue *raisonné* of the Persian and Arabic MSS. in the Library is now nearing completion. It will consist of some 25 volumes in all, of which 16 volumes have been published.

Like his father, Khuda Bakhsh was a legal practitioner, and rose to eminence in his profession. In 1880 he was appointed Government Pleader of Patna; and in 1895 he went, for three years, to Hyderabad, as Chief Justice of the Nizam's High Court. Practically all his earnings he spent on the Library. He was an accomplished Persian scholar and poet, and well-versed in Arabic; and he was one of the greatest authorities on Islamic bibliography.

Enriched by several valuable gifts and by acquisitions subsequent to the founder's death, the Library now contains some 2,250 Persian and 3,250 Arabic MSS. "Rare and charming as are the specimens of Eastern painting and Persian penmanship," writes Mr. Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh, "the value and importance of the library lie in its vast store of works on law and history, philosophy and theology, science and medicine, which are absolutely unique and in most cases unknown to the world of letters". The Library possesses a rich collection of poetical works, some of them sumptuously illuminated and many magnificently bound. There are two copiously and quaintly illustrated Arabic works, of great historical importance; one a treatise on surgical instruments, composed by Zahravi in Granada and another on botany, being a translation of the "Materia Medica" of Dioscorides. Among the many rare Persian MSS. is the first half of Jami's autograph works, of which the second half was formerly in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. Of peculiar historical interest are Jahangir's "Book of Fate" (a copy of the Odes of Hafiz); the works of Khasrau, containing the seal of Akbar's mother; Jahangir's "Autobiography," presented by him to the King of Golconda; two common-place books of Shah Jahan; and Jami's poem "Yusuf was Zulaikha" copied by the greatest of Persian calligraphists, Mr. Ali, for which Jahangir paid 1,000 gold mohurs. Among the magnificent illuminated manuscripts may be mentioned a History of the House of Timur (embellished with no less than 133 full-page illustrations), which was made for Akbar and contains the autograph of Shah Jahan; the Padishahnamah, or history of the reign of Shah Jahan; the Shahinshahnamah of Husaini, celebrating the victories of Sultan Muhammad II (the conqueror of Constantinople), composed in 1594 and presented to Sultan Muhammad III; the Shahnamah of Firdausi, presented illuminated copy of the same. The specimens of painting (Chinese, Persian and Indian) here collected are invaluable to the student of Oriental art. Finally, as a specimen of exquisite penmanship, should be mentioned the Koran of Yaqut-al-Mustasmi, dated 668 A. H. (= 1254 A. D.), written in three different styles, one of which (the Naskh character) Yaqut-al-Mustasmi himself originated.

#### Members' Business Meeting.

From 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., the Members met at the University Library to transact business. A conspectus of the action taken by the

Government of India and the Local Governments on the resolutions passed at the twelfth meeting held at Gwalior was placed on the table.

The Dutch records of Chinsura were removed to the Imperial Record office. The term of office of the Corresponding members was fixed at three years as is the case of the ordinary members. Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar are printed and published and certain records only are made available to scholars for study. Portions of the Mackenzie manuscripts are to be copied and preserved at Madras. Improved methods of record-keeping and preservation of records were suggested by Mr. H. L. O. Garret M.A., I.E.S. It was strongly urged that the Government of Bombay should be requested to complete the exploration, selection and editing of the historical records in the Peshwas' Daftar at Poona and the Government of Bengal to locate the District Records at a convenient centre so as to make them available to the advanced students and teachers of Indian History. Openings for Army historical research in India were suggested for the benefit of bonafide research students. A few other matters were also discussed.

The following papers were laid on the table:—

1. Annual Report of the record offices in India.
2. Report of the classification of the Company records in the Imperial record department.
3. Report of research work done by certain Corresponding members of the commission.
4. Correspondence regarding the continuance of the series of publication entitled "English Factories in India" and the treatment of records in the Bombay Secretariat.
5. Other correspondence.

#### More Visits.

In the Evening, from 2-30 p.m. to 4 p.m., the members visited the site of the old English factory, the tomb of Nawab Muñiruddowlah, the Cathedral, the Cemetery and the houses of Kheyali Ram and Ram Narayan where Guru Govind Singh was born in 1664.

At 4-30 p.m. the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalau was "At Home" to all the Members of the Commission at his residence to enable them to see the site of the Fort of Sher Shah and to inspect his collection of historical objects. After the Patna massacre of 1763, it was decided to remove the old English Factory and to locate it, a house was built in 1765 on the west of the Fort (Quila) area. It is that house with its beautiful position on the River Ganges that is now owned by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur.

With this function, the Session ended.



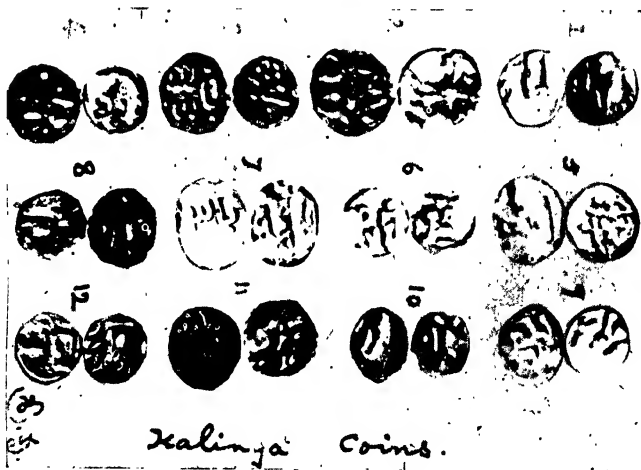
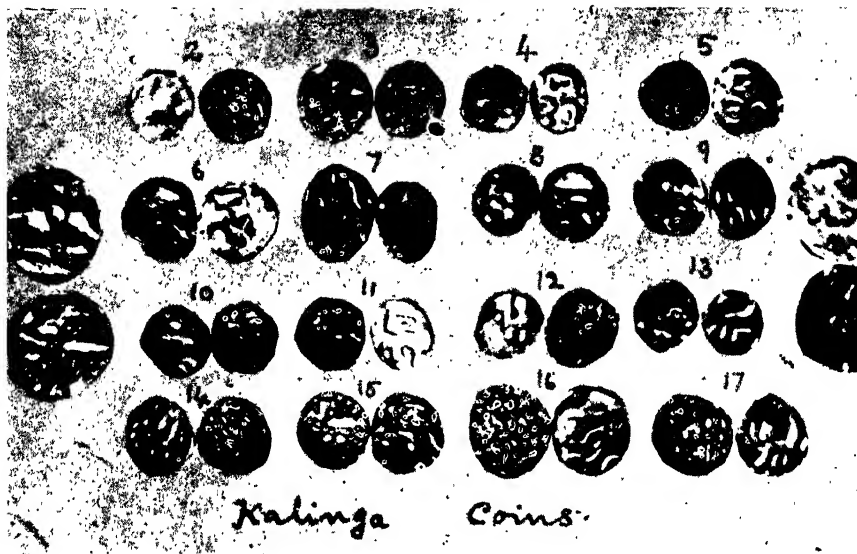
*left to right:*—Rao Bahadur Dr S. K. Aiyargar, Mr A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mrs Kamala Bai  
His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Lady Stephen  
Mr H. G. Rawlinson, Mr H. L. O. Garrett Dr S. N. Sen.

*left to right:—1st row:* Mr K. P. Jayaswal, Dr Balakrishna, Hakim Habibur Rahman, Mr M. I.  
fuzul Huq, Mr R. Subba Rao, Dr R. C. Muzumdar, Mr K. Nilkanta S.  
Rao Bahadur R. Krishnarao Bhonsle, Mr Paramanand, Mr K. B. R. Don  
Mr M. B. Grade, Sir J. J. Modi.

*2nd row:* Mr A. Ghosh, Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, Mr D. V. Potdar, Khan Bah  
D. F. Wakil, Mr R. Satinath Aiyar, Mr Paramanand Acharya, Mr Y  
Deshpande, Mr. P. C. Nahar, Mr S. C. Sarkar.

*3rd row:* Mr H. Lambert, Mr. M. J. Seth, Mr T. G. P. Spear, Mr V. V. The  
Dr R. K. Mukherji, Mr J. C. Talukdar, Mr S. V. Puntambekar, Dr S.C.  
kar, Dr Azimud-din Ahamad, Pandit Bisheshwarnath Rou.

*4th row:* Mr A. B. A. Haleem, Laia Sitaram Kohli, Mr S. K. Sen, Mr R. P. Kho  
Mr K. K. Bose, Dr J. C. Sinha, Mr S. K. Bhuyan, Mr S. K.  
Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid.



## THE KALINGA GANGA AND KADAMBA GOLD COINS. \* ,

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

The Gaṅga and Kadamba coins, made of gold, are called at present by the name of *Vaṅga parakalu*, which mean brinjal seeds as they look like them, and *Pūja chihnam*s which mean the symbols of worship as they were used for offerings to Gods and Brahmins. They are discovered, every now and then, after heavy rains on old historical sites in Kaliṅgadesa like Kaliṅgapaṭṭanam, Mukhalingam, Dantapuram and Santa Bommāli. They are also called Gaṅga *fanams* or Matsya *fanams* or Simha *fanams* according to the emblems they bear.

A Gaṅga *fanam* is equal in weight to five or six grains or two seeds of *Kaṣanju* or *Molucca* bean (*coesalpinia bonduc*). It is a die-struck piece, small in size, and spherical in shape but useful for *Dakṣhiṇa* or charity to Brahmins and to Gods. They bear the religious devices of *Śivaliṅgam*, a recumbent Bull, conch and crescent struck on them. The gold used was probably imported from Rome. In order that the coins in gold might be accessible to all, they were minted by kings in small denominations of  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  fanams. The quarter fanams, as the present coins are, would cost four annas.

In Plate I (above) coins Nos. 5, 6 and 9 and in Plate II (below) coins Nos. 6 and 9 have got a figure of Roman scale, a trade mark showing commercial relationship between Rome and Kalingadēśa in ancient times.

In both the Plates, the obverse and the reverse sides of each coin are shown side by side.

### Plate I (above.)

a. Coin No. 1 shows, on the obverse side, a couchant nandi or bull facing left and a crescent at the top of it.

The reverse side has a letter 'om'.

b. Coins Nos. 2, 4, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 15 have on their obverse sides what looks like an elephant-goad and on their reverse sides, a

\* These gold coins have been secured at my instance by S. Gopala Krishnamurthy and afterwards purchased by me for the Society's Museum. I presented two gold coins to the society which I got from Razam. In all, the Society has got at present twenty-seven of these coins. Three more coins which are shown in the photo-prints were returned to the owners. An article on these coins has been published in telugu by S. G. Krishnamurthy in *Kaliṅgadesa charitra*, edited by me.

numerical number probably the regnal year of the king when the coin was minted and a *chaturasramu*.

c. Coins Nos. 3, 6 and 9 have on their obverse sides a Roman balance and on the reverse sides a numerical number and religious signs like *Sivalingam* and *Nandi*.

d. Coins Nos. 5, 7, 10 and 14 bear *Sivalingam*, *Nandi* and crescent on the obverse sides and numerical numbers on the reverse.

*Plate II (below)*

1. *Ob.* A couchant\* caparisoned bull, facing left with a crescent of the moon above.

*R.* A *chaturasramu* and the telugu numerical number 1. The numerical number may refer to the regnal year of the king.

2. *Ob.* A lion with a raised paw.

*R.* The letter 'Va'. It probably refers to their capital Vanavāsi in Kalinga.

This is probably a Kadamba coin.

3. *Ob.* Elephant-goad. The Ganga kings were famous for their elephant fights.

*R.* A *chaturasramu* and numerical number.

4. *Ob.* Two fishes and below it the telugu numerical number 1.

*R.* A *Sivalingam*, *Nandi*, and crescent. This is probably a Matsya coin. The Matsya kings of Oddadi were vassals of the E. Gangas.

5. *Ob.* A Vessel with two masts and sails. The Kalingas were noted for their commercial and colonial pursuits.

*R.* A *Sivalingam*, *Nandi* and crescent.

6. *Ob.* A symbol which looks like a Roman balance.

*R.* A *Sivalingam* and below it the numerical number 13.

7. *Ob.* A bull.

*R.* A *chaturasramu* and the telugu numerical number 3.

8. *Ob.* A letter 'Gam' referring to the Gaṅga kings.

*R.* A *chaturasramu* and a numerical number.

9, 10, 11, 12. *Ob.* A *Sivalingam* and other signs.

*R.* A *chaturasramu*.

## EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMANICAL HIERARCHY.

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.

(Continued from page 232 of Vol. IV.)

From about the middle of the 1st century before Christ till about the 4th century A. D. we have clear evidence of inscriptions which point to the decline of Brahminism and the ascendancy of early Buddhism and the neglect of Sanskrit and the cultivation of Prakrit. But at the end of 4th century a powerful Brahminical upheaval is clearly noticeable. In the Epigraphic records, for more than five centuries past, there had not been a single grant either to Brahmins or to their Gods and Goddesses. But from about the end of the 4th century, we have quite a crop of these inscriptions and grants which continue uninterruptedly for about 12 centuries subsequently. All these were published in a collected form by Dr. Fleet as Gupta inscriptions. The worship of Siva, Vishnu and Mahāsenā seems to have been extremely popular among all classes of people from princes and chiefs to ordinary individuals. The following instances prove the same.

1 The Bhilsad inscription of Kumaragupta speaks of building (Pratoli) a gallery in the temple of Swāmi Mahāsenā by Dhruva Śarman in 414 A. D.

2 The Behar inscription represents the erection of a *Upa* sacrificial post and on the Bhetari pillar, records the installation of an image of Sarginni and the grant of a village to Brahmins by Skandagupta.

3 In the Junagadh inscription, a temple of Vishnu is spoken of as having been erected in 456 A. D. by Chakrapalita, son of Paramadatta, Skandagupta's governor of Surashtra.

4 The Indore inscription of Skandagupta records the endowment of Deva Vishnu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in the temple of the sun.

5 Buddha Gupta's inscriptions state that Dhanaya Vishnu erected a *Dhwajastambham* (flagstaff) to the God Janardana.

6 The inscriptions of the minor chiefs and individuals record grants of villages to Brahmins from 474 to 509 A. D. and to the temple at Pishilipura in 527 A.D.

The universal adoption of the Sanskrit language indicates the extent of the Brahminical influence. The influence of Sanskrit Pandits upon kings and



peasants waxed greater in matters of religion and social observances. The influence of come of this Brahminical revival extended itself also to the Deccan and the Chalukyaan dynasty which established itself towards the end of the 5th century A.D. under Satyāśraya Pulikesin I. solemnised Aśvamēdha sacrifice and made grants of lands to Brahmins. A cave temple of Vishnu was dedicated by Mangalesa in 578 A. D. at Bādāmi. Records of Buddhistic gifts during the period were few. The next cause of the decline of Buddhism is that Brahminism appropriated all its virtues which increased its popularity. Sanskrit was resorted to confer dignity on the religious books and the use of the learned language enhanced the prestige of Brahminism. The earlier Buddhism was eclipsed by the Mahāyāna form and the charm of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Samgha* was lost. For about 3 centuries before Christ there had been no powerful Brahminical princes and all the royal patronage went to Buddhism except during the time of the Sunga dynasty. That the Brahminical revival derived its full force and vigour from the royal patronage extended to it by the Gupta monarchs is clearly apparent from the large extent of the recorded gifts to Brahmins and their Gods for their daily worship and for the performance of sacrificial rites. The epigraphic records prior to the Guptas show that all royal benevolences, private and public, were bestowed upon Jain and Buddhistic institutions and that the patronage of Brahmins did not begin till the Gupta period. The effect of Asoka's propaganda was to decrease the Brahminical influence to a very low ebb until the beginning of the Gupta period when Brahmins regained their position as exponents of Indo-Aryan culture. It cannot be said that during the whole period during which Buddhism was in its ascendancy, Brahminism had altogether lost its influence but it was undergoing a steady intellectual growth. Many of Buddha's disciples were Brahmins who changed their names upon initiation as members of the *Samgha* and even in Asoka's time the Brahmins had captured its whole machinery. Brahminical or Vedic sacrificial ritual was either transformed or swept away but the ideas behind it remained as a nucleus of new spiritual growth. During all this time Brahminism retained its independent existence as a side channel of the great stream of popular religion and within its forest *āśramas*, the basic ideas of modern Hinduism were slowly maturing. It was the disinterested labours of the Brahmin Scholars and Pandits of the Gupta period that thoroughly examined the foundations of Vedic religion and, after the course materialism of the Vedic sacrificial ritual had been purged of its grossness by Buddhistic idealism, the religion of the Vedas reunited with the main current of Indo-Aryan beliefs and the Brahmins resumed their natural position as the interpreters of Indo-Aryan religion. Buddhism, thus deprived of the intellectual support of the Aryan aristocracy, gradually relapsed to the back-ground and declined and finally became merged in the ocean of

Indian religious thought taking its place as one of the seats of Hinduism instead of a synthesis of all of them.

The Gupta monarchs were liberal patrons of Brahminical learning and the capital of the Gupta Empire was the centre of Brahminical culture and the people followed the traditions of their forefathers. After centuries of the preaching of Monasticism, the revival of Brahmanism was the natural psychological reaction and the Brahmin Guru, emerging from his forest hermitage and basking in the sunshine of royal favour, supplanted the Buddhist Bhikshus whose influence had disappeared owing to the abuse of authority and people no longer listened to the tales of Buddha's self-sacrifice but cared to hear the praise of the Aryan Kshatriya Heroes like Rama. The decline of Buddhism and its final disappearance as a separate religion was the consequence of a gradual process of intellectual absorption rather than the result of any outward pressure and persecution. The whole logical position of Buddha's philosophy was shifted and brought closely on a line with that of the Brahminical schools directly. Buddha was recognised as a personal God and Avatar of Vishnu and the development of Mahāyāna form of Buddhism is itself a splendid testimony to the revival of Brahminism.

With the patronage and encouragement given to them by the Gupta monarchs, the Brahmin Statesmen began to work by taking the popular education out of the hands of the Buddhist *Bhikshus* and shaped the whole educational policy of the Gupta period. When the Brahmins rose to power and influence under the Gupta sovereigns after centuries of neglect, it was but natural that they should consolidate their position and strengthen their influence so as to make it permanent and abiding for all time. So their object was to give a new and popular shape to the literature of their creed and re-arrange it to meet the popular tastes and to be in harmony with changed feelings of the times. Therefore, the Brahmin Pandits of the Gupta period re-edited the Mahabharata making it an encyclopaedia of hero-worship and a moral textbook containing the essence of Kshatriya polity, philosophy and religion which gave abundant material for a system of popular education. The *sāṅgha* and the *sanyāsins* carried it throughout the length and breadth of India and spread its message. Then again the Brahmin pandits made great endeavours to place their creed on religious and philosophical basis and to show that the creed of their opponents had no such basis. Previously all the works on religion and law existed in sacred form and in prose aphorisms and they were identified with particular schools or *śākhās* of Brahmins such as Apastambā, Asvalayana, Boudhayana, and Katyayana who brought into existence the Kalpa sutras consisting of Srouta sutras, Dharma sutras and Grihya sutras. All these sutras were reedited and rewritten in Anushtub metre by the Brahmin pandits of the Gupta period.

It was the age when the metrical *smritis*, *purāṇas* and *bhāṣhyas* or commentaries containing explanatory, apologetic and controversial matter began to be written and a general literary impulse was communicated to all branches of learning which culminated in an extra-ordinary outburst of an all round literary activity. In those good old times, all knowledge was imparted orally and transmitted from mouth to mouth. Subsequently *sūtras* were composed just for the purpose of remembrance as a sort of supplement to the oral teaching. But times had been changed and it was considered necessary that there should be a plainer exposition, in a more intelligible form, of all the Aryan principles of religion so that they might be grasped and understood by all classes of people. Hence the choice of Anushtub metre in sloka form was adopted. The Brahmin scholars of Imperial Gupta court had therefore revised all the old and previously existing religious and social customs, practices and injunctions and brought out new Codes. Prominent among them was the Code of Manu which they reedited as "Manusmṛiti" though it was compiled some centuries back embodying the traditions of a much greater antiquity and it may be taken to represent the sociology and polity of Aryavarta during the Gupta period from 320 to 530 A.D. i.e. for full two centuries. The most significant fact is that we are now following these religious practices and injunctions which were laid down by the Brahmin Pandits of the Gupta court. The conditions of society have been greatly altered from those of the Vedic times and caste distinctions are strictly observed and the supremacy of the Brahmins as spiritual leaders, on account of their higher purity and superior knowledge of Vedic lore and wisdom, has been regarded as incontestible. Uptill Gupta period, caste was still loose and flexible and higher castes were allowed to marry into the lower and we find many instances of Brahmins taking Kshatriya and Vaisya wives such as Revakeerti and others mentioned in inscriptions. Harsha's times were the transition stage in the process of rigid fiction ending in total prohibition of marriage outside caste. None of the twice born classes were allowed to marry beyond their caste and the sacred institution of marriage was tightened in order to conserve the purity of the *varṇa* and prevent an admixture of impure blood. The diet of the Brahmins was to be strictly vegetarian except on special occasions when sacrificial meat was allowed in order to satisfy the claims of the Vedic religion. The meek change, from the meat-eating and soma-drinking Brahmin of the Vedic period to that of an absolute teetotaler in the Gupta period, shows the deep impress of Buddhist ethics on Brahminical laws. The whole range of Hindu law has been revised and many obnoxious customs such as killing of cows at sacrifices and the practices of the lauriate were absolutely prohibited. The works on sacrificial ritual and especially the *Bhāṣhyas* on the *sūtras* must have come to be written about

this time. Since the sacrificial religion was being revived after a long time the necessity of definite authoritative ritual was keenly felt. A number of persons wrote *Bhāṣyas* on the ritualistic *sūtras* and their names end in the honorific title of *Swamin* such as Pakshi swamin, Dhurta swamin etc. The *Purāṇas* also were recasted at this time as they felt it necessary to introduce glorifying descriptions of Gods and Goddesses whose worship was rising in popular favour for the purpose of firmly inculcating moral and religious duties. Many philosophical treatises also were brought into existence during this period by famous Vedantic schoolmen. As stated already, a general impetus was given to the cultivation of the sanskrit language which the Brahmins had fully utilized and brought into existence a large amount of literature on religion, and philosophy which is an enduring monument to their extraordinary capacity and intelligence. It was during the Gupta period that the Brahmin hierarchy wielded its greatest power and influence and became actual leaders of the people. After the Gupta Empire broke up, they lost their influence and during Sri Harsha's reign there seemed to be an equal distribution of royal patronage to all religions. Perfect toleration prevailed during Sri Harsha's reign and his historian Bāṇa records a good number of religious and philosophical disputants engaged in discussions in the debating hall of Harsha. During the latter part of Sri Harsha's reign he showed excessive favour to Buddhistic monks which greatly aroused the envy of the Brahmins who conspired to put an end to his life. The king was miraculously saved from being killed and 500 Brahmins were sent into exile for their participation in the conspiracy to murder the king. Apart from this incident which was no doubt very much exaggerated by the court-poet Bāṇa, we find from the description of Hiuen T'sang, the famous Chinese traveller and master of law that the Brahmins occupied the foremost position in society and were the leaders of the people. This is what he says regarding the Brahmins of the 7th century A-D. in his *Travels* which are translated by Mr. Mac Watters. Vide Vol I. page 141. "Among the various classes and castes of the country, the Brahmins were purest and most esteemed. From their excellent reputation, the name 'Brahmin's country' had come to be a popular one in India. The Brahmins keep to their priceless principles strictly observing ceremonial purity". Such was the glowing testimony paid to the Brahmin caste by an impartial foreigner though belonging to the rival cult of Buddhism. How much has the average Brahmin of the present day degenerated from his prototype in in the 7th century! But yet the consolation is that we have not lost Brahminism altogether though keeping its semblance. There were not sectarian distinctions among the Brahmins of the 7th century and all belonged to one single sect having no subdivisions. The innumerable subdivisions and subjects into which Brahmins are divided at the present day,

had not come into existence during the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The 10 sects (i.e) Pancha-dandas and Pancha-gondas which were originally based more on territorial distinctions have come into vogue during subsequent centuries. There were no doubt distinctions, such as Rik śākha, Yajus śākha and so on. The Brahmins were known more by the name of their *gōtra* and *pravara* to which they belonged than by any other distinct appellation.

Bāṇa's description of himself is confined to his stating that he belonged to Vatsayana Gotra. We also find from inscriptions and copper plate grants that Brahmins were described by their *gōtra* and *śākha* alone and not by any of the present modes. It would appear also that these Brahmins belonging to Rigveda were styled as Bahrrihas. Samavedis were known as Chandagas and Yejurvedis were known as Vajasaneyas. Such was the position of the Brahmins in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. During the 9<sup>th</sup> century Brahminism had acquired a great religious influence and power by the advent of the Great Sri Sankarāchārya whose philosophical teachings extirpated altogether the remnants of Buddhistic faith in India. The Brahmin orthodoxy gained a high reputation and the discussion conducted by this great Sanyasin greatly redounded to their prestige. When Sankarācharya challenged the Pandits of Buddhism in the philosophical arena, he did not put forward any new religion or new doctrine but maintained the original position of Brahmin orthodoxy as laid down in Upanishads, Brahmasutras and Gita. He easily threw overboard his Buddhistic opponents and won great distinction in the debating halls of the Benares University and had a right royal reception at all the courts of the kings of Northern India. He founded an Order of Sanyasins, open to all castes after the model of Buddhistic *Sangha* and established many *Mutts* in many places the chief of which is the Sringeri Mutt in Southern India held in great veneration, respect and devotion by all the Brahmin disciples. If Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth, it was because of the crushing defeats which Sankarācharya had inflicted upon the Buddhists in the debating halls of Aryavarta by his superior intellectual powers of debate, rhetoric and eloquence coupled with solid reason.

After Sankarācharya, we have Ramanuja and Madhwa who propounded their respective theories according to Brahmasutras, Upanishads and Gita and obtained adherents for their systems of philosophy. We have come to the close of our historical enquiry with regard to the Brahmin hierarchy. Even now the Brahmin priesthood is still leading in all social and religious matters and its services are eagerly requisitioned by all classes of people including the great bulk of Non-brahmins though a few westernised and English-educated of them are raising the standard of revolt against Brahminism and accusing it for keeping them down still in the lowest scale and withholding from them all special spiritual

knowledge. Having examined the history of the origin, growth and development of the Brahmin priesthood from the ancient times we can easily see that there is absolutely no foundation for this accusation levelled against the Brahmin. We have seen that, in the ancient times and during the Vedic period, many tribes were unable to conform to the Aryan laws and customs and consequently went out of the Aryan pale. They were unable to live a life of severe discipline like the Brahmins of old and conform to the rules of the Aryan society. They refused to perform the sacrifices enjoined by the Aryan law and hence they were voluntarily out and denied to suit themselves to and be bound by, the Aryan laws. Many of the tribesmen failed to perform the duties enjoined upon an Aryan householder such as keeping daily-fire, offering oblations, performing new moon and full moon sacrifices and such other things and were unable to lead a life of severe personal discipline.

A few of the tribesmen specialised themselves in these matters and devoted their life-time for the study and cultivation of the principles of Brahminical religion and practice owing to other occupations. Others did not care to cultivate the ancient Brahminical virtues.

Had some of the remotest ancestors of the present-day Non-Brahmins in those Vedic and Epic times submitted themselves to the rigorous Brahminical pursuits, they would have been also Brahmins now and the present-day Non-Brahmins could only accuse their remotest ancestors of ancient times in not following the Brahminical principles but pursuing other avocations. As for the Non-Brahmins being kept out of the portals of all knowledge, it is a flagrant historical untruth and many instances could be quoted to prove that there were Non-Brahmins in ancient, medieval and modern times who could hold their own as against the Brahmin in point of culture and knowledge and the name of Vidura of the epic times may be mentioned to refute this modern heresy. During the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D., the Saiva revivalists of the South in the Pandya kingdom who were all profound philosophers were Non-Brahmins and expounded their theories of Saiva Siddhanta. The chief philosophical exponents of Saiva revivalism of the 7th and the 8th centuries led by Nankka Vachagar and his successors were all Non-Brahmins. For the first time in the 20th century, this cry is raised and never before during the past centuries that the Brahmin kept the Non-Brahmin down in ignorance. It is more an accusation levelled against the Brahmin on account of the present day struggle for existence chiefly owing to economic conditions in these modern times rather than any statement of truth. It has no historical foundation to support it.

Let me conclude: The future of Brahminism does not appear to be bright. The Brahmin had raised a host of enemies all round and is

## TRANSLATION OF THE INSCRIPTION.

On Monday, the 13th day of new moon in the month of Jeshta of Nalanāma samvatsara, Krishna Patrudu, Anantu Venkatanarayana, Kasi Patrudu, Sadasiva Venkayya, and Haripatrudu granted to one Salavaka Bhimūdu an Inam of four *garces* of land in Bommali, of which three *garces* of wet land lay to the south of Pondari backyards and one *garce* of dry land in a portion of dry land called Palagudde, under the orders of Sheik Saheb to be enjoyed permanently until his descendants exist after paying Kattubadi tax of Rs 12 per year

N. B. The Sheik Saheb mentioned in the above Plate might be the Nawab of Chicacole. Under this Nawab there were also Bommali Taluk and a part of the eastern portion of the Tekkali Taluk to the sea-side and also a part of the southern portion of the Tekkali Taluk. These plots might have been split up into certain portions and ruled by 1. Krishna Patrudu 2 Anantu Venkatanarayana 3. Kasipatrudu 4. Sadasiva Venkayya and 5, Haripatrudu as subordinates of Sheik Saheb of Chicacole. As the signatures of these individuals are in Oriya it can be said that all these were Karnams. By this Copper-Plate it is clear that there were Copper-Plate grants during the period of Mohammadans. As there is a part of Vyasagita in the Copper-Plate, it is clear that, though these Donors are the subordinates of the Nawab, they have got Hindu manners and customs.

# THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GAṄGAS OF KALINGA.

R. SUBBA RAO. M.A., L.T.

## Chapter II.

(Continued from page 199 above.)

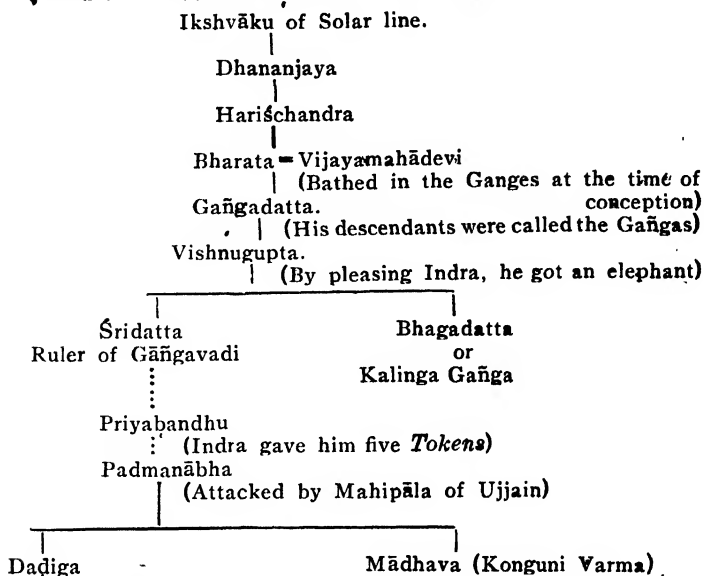
*Origin and Early History of the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas—  
The Earlier and the Later E. Gaṅgas—The Gaṅga Era—Kaliṅganagara.*

The Gaṅgas, who were mentioned, in the Greek and Roman writings of the period extending from the fourth century B. C. to the second century A.D., as a Gangetic tribe living in the Gangetic Delta and a part of Bengal and Bihar<sup>1</sup> under the rule of the Nandas and the Mauryas, are next referred to in inscriptions as living independently in the southern part of Mysore from the second century A.D. to the eleventh century A.D. Their country was termed Gaṅgavāḍi and their early capital Kuvalāla. Though several copper-plate grants of the Gaṅgas of Mysore, belonging to the third and the fourth centuries A. D., are published they do not reveal, like the many published C.P. grants of the E. Gaṅgas of Kalinga, full and detailed account of the origin and the early history of the dynasty. We must therefore look for these into the later Inscriptions, written on copper plates in the case of the E. Gaṅgas of Kalinga, and on stones in the case of the W. Gaṅgas of Mysore. Stone inscriptions of the 11th and

1 In Ptolemy's Map of India published opposite to p. 329 in Ind. Ant. vol. XIII the Gangaride are shown as living at the mouth of the Ganges in the Deltaic portion. Their royal city was Gange. It is described in Periplus as a great commercial centre on the Ganges. Along with the Prasii, they lived on the eastern bank of the Ganges. Pliny calls them Gens Novissama. They are also termed Gangaridae calingae and they had a powerful military force. The Sundarbans and a large part of Bengal and Bihar were occupied by them. St. Martin thinks that Parthalia, said to be their capital by Pliny, is only Vardhana or Burdwan. Their name is still preserved in the aboriginal tribes. Goughs of Bihar and Gongays of N. W. Bengal. (p. 365 Ind. Ant. vol. 13) To the north of them lived the Maroundai or Munda tribe and to the west lived the Ganganoi or Tangana race (Ibid pp. 376—377). Tosali (capital of Kalinga in Asoka's time), Triglipota or Trilingon (The Telugu name and language are fixed by Pliny and Ptolemy near the mouths of the Ganges or between the Ganges and the Godavari. Ibid p. 383) and Dandagula (It is identified by several scholars with Dantapura ruins near Chikakole Ry. Station, Ganjam Dt.) are all mentioned as great cities in Kalinga.

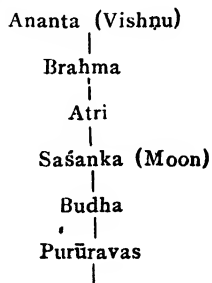


the 12th centuries, discovered in the Nagar and Shimoga Taluks of Mysore, give the following geneology and history of the Gaṅgas of Mysore<sup>2</sup>:—



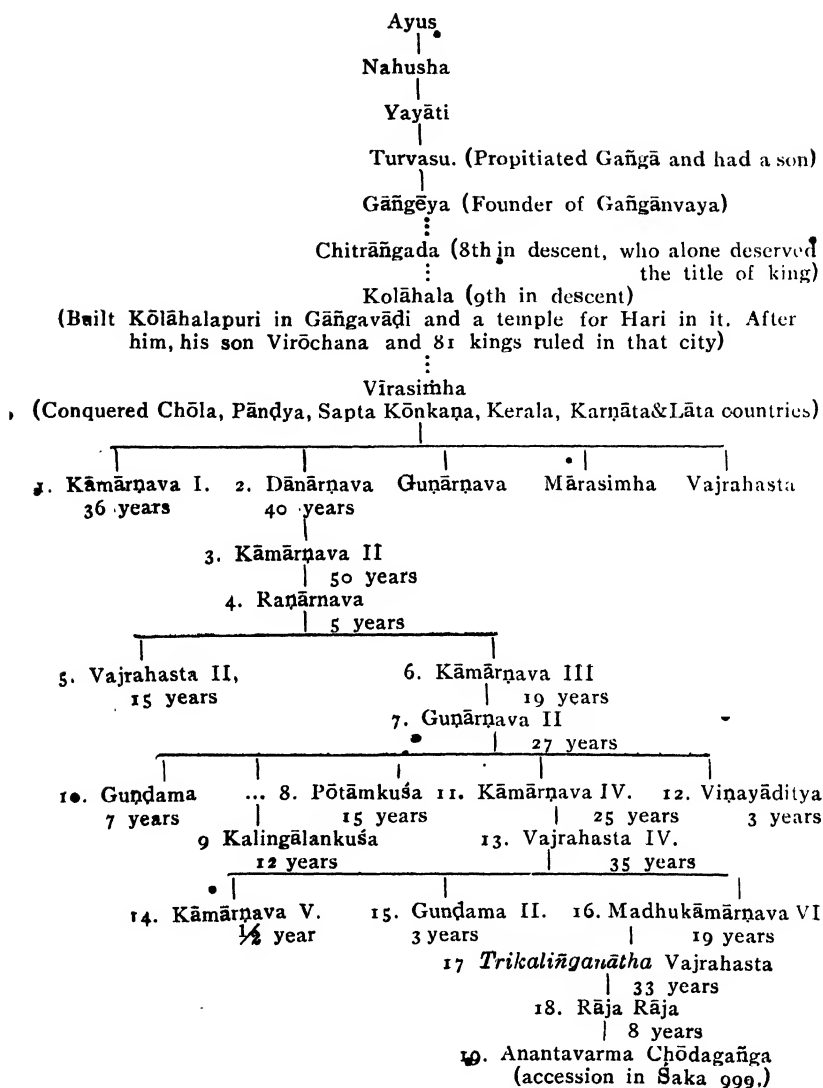
The Jain Āchārya Simhanāndi seems to have helped them in founding a kingdom called Gaṅgavāḍi with the capital at Kuvalāla. They are said to belong to Kānvāyanagōtra. They subdued Bana and Konkana countries. Their rule commenced in the first-half of the second century A.D. They built *Chaityālayas* for Jain monks.

The geneology and the early history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, are thus given in the copper-plate grants of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga dated Śaka years 1034 and 1040<sup>3</sup>:—



<sup>2</sup> Vide Insc. No. 35 of Nagar Taluk and Nos. 4, 10, 64 of Shimoga. Also Pp. 29—32 in *Mysore and Coorg* by B. L. Rice.

<sup>3</sup> Vide J.A.H.R.S. vol. I, Pp. 106—124 and Ind. Ant. vol. 18, p. 165.



It would also appear from the above inscriptions that Kāmārṇava I was the Founder of the Kalinga Gaṅga Line. He left his country Gaṅgavādi to his paternal uncle who usurped the same and with his four brothers set out to Mahēndragiri in the East. Having there worshipped God Gōkarṇaswāmi and having obtained the crest of a bull and the insignia of universal

sovereignty, he got down the hill with his brothers, conquered Sabalā(rā)-ditya and took possession of the Kalinga countries, and ruled from his capital Dantapuram. He made Dānārṇava the crown prince, and gave Ambavādivishaya to Guṇarṇava, Sōdāmaṇḍala to Mārasimha and Kantakavartani to Vajrahasta. He thus ruled for 35 years and was succeeded by Dānārṇava who ruled for 40 years. Then his son Kāmārṇava II ruled for 50 years with his capital at Nagara where he built a lofty temple for Siva in the *linga* form and named it Madhukēśa. His son, Ranārṇava for 5 years and then his son Vajrahasta II for 15 years ruled.

From the foregoing account it is clear that the Gaṅga tribe was so-called because it lived on the banks of the Ganges, and was a Northern tribe that originally dwelt in the Gangetic Delta, Bengal and Bihar but gradually spread into the Kalinga country in the East and ruled over it. The Later Western Gaṅga plates would make us believe that while Bhāgadatta went to rule over Kalinga, his brother's Line, after ruling over the ancestral Gaṅgavādi in the north, was defeated by the ruler of Malwa and forced to found a new kingdom, named after the ancestral one, in Mysore, in the south. This Mysore Dynasty endured independently from the third century A. D. to the tenth century A. D. The break-up of the Andhra Empire probably facilitated this course. In Kalinga, however, the Kalinga Gaṅgas remained probably subordinate till the break-up of the Gupta Empire at the close of the fifth century A. D., when they became independent. Under the Nandas, Mauryas, Chedis, Andhras and Guptas who are all known to have ruled over Kalinga which was one of the provinces in their Empire, the Gaṅgas remained tributary. It is only from the close of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century, as attested by the presence of their several Plates published so far, that they became a Sovereign Power. The historical as well as the palaeographical grounds revealed in the two published Plates<sup>4</sup> of Indravarma and Prithvimūla would confirm the same conclusion. The fact that no mention is made of the Earlier Gaṅga kings in the geneologies contained in the grants of the Later Gaṅga kings is to be explained as being due to the Later kings having lost all knowledge of the history of the Earlier kings. This view receives support from the fact that the geneology (given above) in some Plates of Anantavarma Chodagaṅga does not tally with that given in those of his grandfather Vajrahasta, and further with that given in some of his own.<sup>5</sup> This is due to the fact that the traditions of the whole Line from the beginning were not kept up fully or remembered correctly. Some scholars like Dr. Fleet identified, while editing the Plates of the Later E. Gaṅga kings, Gaṅgavādi and Kōlāhalapuram mentioned in them, with the kingdom

<sup>4</sup> Vide *The Jirjangi C.P. Grant of Indravarma* in J. A. H. R. S. vol. III, part 1 and the Godavari Plates of Prithvimūla in J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. XVI p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Ep. Ind. vols. III p. 222, IV p. 183, IX p. 94 and XI p. 147. Also, Ind. Ant. vol. XVIII pp. 161—165 and 172—176. Also, pp. 50—55 in the *Supplement to Kalingadesa Charitra* edited by me in Telugu.

of the same name founded in Mysore by W. Gangas, early in the third century A.D. and its capital Kuvalālapuram. But these identifications are wrong. Now, from the Plates of the E. Gaṅga kings, it is clearly known that the ancestral kingdom was called Gaṅgavādi or the land of the Gaṅgas. When one Line of the Gaṅgas migrated to the South, they naturally called their new kingdom after their old one in the north. Similarly, when another Line marched to the East, they created a kingdom and called it also after their old one in the north. In the Plates of Anantavarma Chōdaganga, Kāmārṇava I, the founder of the E. Gaṅga line, is described as leaving Gaṅgavādi and going to the East showing thereby that his ancestral kingdom of Gaṅgavādi lay to the (North) West and not to the South<sup>6</sup>. Similarly, he is described as referring to Kōlāhalapura and not to Kuvalālapura of Mysore. There is mention made actually of a Kōlāhalapura, situated in the Ganjam District,<sup>7</sup> as being the capital of Prithivivarmadeva, a king of Kalinga Gaṅga Line. Hence, it must be known that the Gaṅgas of Kalinga were a northern race who had little to do with the Gaṅgas of Mysore, at any rate, after they left the ancestral home of Gaṅgavādi in the north and migrated to Mysore in the south.

This conclusion receives good support from the following facts:—

1. While the Early Gaṅga Kings of Mysore were Jains and belonged to Ikshvāku dynasty and Solar Line and professed Kanvāyana *gotra*, all the Earlier as well as several Later Gaṅga kings of Kalinga were ardent worshippers of Paramēśvara (Śiva) and belonged to Lunar Line and professed Atrēya *gotra*.

2. In the Copper-plate Grants of the Later Gaṅga kings of Kalinga, there is no mention made that they migrated from Mysore in the South, Nor do we find any resemblance between the names of the kings found therein and those found in the inscriptions of the Mysore Gaṅga kings.

3. While the Seals of the Grants of the Mysore Gaṅgas and Kadambas contain the emblems of elephant and lion respectively, those of the Kalinga Gaṅgas and Kadambas contain bull and fish respectively.

4. While the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas of Mysore were related to each other, the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas of Kalinga were also related to each other. And it is known, from the existence of Gaṅga and Kadamba villages and clans in Orissa feudatory states even at the present day that these tribes gradually settled in various parts of the country and gave their ancestral name to them. While one Line migrated to Kalinga and another to Mysore, more adventurous branches founded independent kingdoms in Ceylon and East Indies.

<sup>6</sup> Strictly stating the Gangas of Mysore must be called the Southern Gangas

<sup>7</sup> Vide Prithivivarma deva's Ganjam plates edited in 'Ep. Ind.' Vol. 4 No. 36

*The Earlier and the Later Eastern Gaṅgas.*

Some scholars have stated<sup>8</sup> that the Earlier and the Later Gaṅgas belong to different Lines but this is wrong. They contend that the Earlier Gaṅgas in their charters used the Gaṅga Era (Gaṅgēyavarṇśa Pravarēddhamāna Vijayarājya Saṁvatsara), while the Later Gaṅgas used the Śāka Era and so they belong to different Lines. But this contention holds no ground because the Gaṅga Kings, both Earlier and Later, used an Era of their own consistent with their independent position till a later time, (about 1000 A.D) when they gave it up and adopted the S'āka Era just as it was customarily done at that time by kings of other dynasties also in S. India. A King called Madhukāmārṇava who is claimed in all the C.P. grants of the so-called Later Gaṅga Kings as belonging to their Line actually refers to the year 526 of the Gaṅga Era in one of his own C.P. grants recently discovered<sup>9</sup>. This shows that the practice was continued by kings of the Later Line and ultimately some king of it gave it up for the S'āka Era. It is possible that this was done, as in the Eastern Chalukya Line, at the close of 10 century A. D. and the earliest Grant published so far<sup>10</sup> which shows the change belongs to the time of Anantavarma Vajrahasta whose accession is said to have taken place in S'āka 901.

There are also other points urged by the scholars. It is stated that the kings who used the Gaṅga Era gave short genealogies only unlike the Later Kings. But this is as it ought to be, for, during the early times, when the earlier kings lived and ruled, it was the custom to trace the genealogy to one or two generations only and this was the case with the Early Pallavas, Salankayanas, Vishnukundins and E. Chalukyas. It is only later on, probably in the 11th century, that kings of the several dynasties of South India vied with one another in tracing lengthy genealogies and connecting themselves with the Solar and Lunar dynasties mentioned in the Epics.

Then again, it is stated that the Earlier Kings have no *Gotra* of their own mentioned in their Grants while the Later ones are mentioned as belonging to Atrēya *Gotra*. But it should be remembered that the Earlier Gaṅgas are said to belong to Gaṅgānvaya or Gaṅgāmalakula in their grants and who knows that it is not also their *Gotra* like the Sālankāyana *gotra* of the kings of that dynastic name who ruled over Vēṅgi Maṇḍala in the fourth and in the fifth centuries AD. Even granting that it was not their *gotra* and that they did not observe *gotra* like the Rashtrakuta, Pratihara and other Medieval dynastic kings, it only proves that there were certain Kshatriya dynasties who, by Custom and *Sāstra*

<sup>8</sup> Sewel's *Antiquities of S. India* pp. 155—159; Burnell's S. I. *Palaeography* p. 33 N. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Vide C.P. No. 5 in the Ep. Report of S. Circle for 1918—1919.

<sup>10</sup> Vide J.B.O.R.S. vol. 17 pp. 175—183.

were exempted from the use of it. In such cases, they adopted the *Gotra* of their *Purohita* or Priests as their own. Also, it was the custom for the kings having no *Gotra* to belong to *Ātrēya gotra*. It is that way probably that Later Gaṅgas are said to belong to *Ātrēya gotra* in their charters.

There are many evidences to prove that the Earlier and the Later Gaṅgas belonged to one and the same family:—

1. The names 'Gaṅga' and 'Gaṅga' are both found in the Grants of the kings of both Lines and so they are applicable equally to them, so that it need not be construed that Gaṅga Line is different from Gaṅga Line,

2. The suffixes to the names of kings of both Lines, such as Varma, Deva, and Arṇava, are found to be the same.

3. The Capital or royal residence of kings of both Lines is said to be Kalinganagara. In each case, another chief-town, Dantapura, is also mentioned.

4. The kings of both Lines worshipped the Holy feet of Gōkarnēśvara of Mahendra-giri. They worshipped Siva until Later kings followed the worship of Vishnu after the transfer of the capital to Cuttack in the 12th century.

5. The kings of both Lines were closely related to the Eastern Kadambas who were employed under them as Provincial governors and who were generally the Executors of their Grants.

6. The Seals of the Grants adopted by the kings of both Lines resemble closely. They contain the same emblems like Lotus, Crescent, Bull and Elephant-goad.

7. The style of beginning the Grants in both cases is also similar. The Parlakimidi plates of the time of Vajrahasta begin in the same way as those of the Early Gaṅga Kings, Dēvēndravarma, Satyavarma and Indravarma.

Thus, the common family name Gaṅga or Gaṅga, the titles of kings as recorded in their Grants, the God Gokarnēśvara seated on Mahendragiri and worshipped by kings of both Lines, the same Capital Kalinganagaram from which both sets of grants were generally issued, the common relationship referred to in both sets of Grants with the E. Kadambas and other common particulars, point to one and the same conclusion viz, that the Early and the Later Gaṅgas belong to the same Dynasty.

#### *The Gaṅgīyavamsa Samvatsara, or the Gaṅga Era.*

All the inscriptions of the Early Gaṅga kings discovered so far including Madhukāmārṇava's, which probably belong to the period AD. 500 to 1000 AD, are found inscribed on copper-plates only and they number nearly twenty-five. In all these C.P. grants, the kings describe themselves as belonging to Gaṅgāmalakula, i.e. the pure clan of the Gaṅgas and this is probably intended to distinguish the indiginousness and the purity of

their tribe as against the mixed and the *mleccha* or foreign character of the other Indian ruling tribes of the period. Similarly, they used an Era of their own which is differently termed in the several grants. Thus, the terms, Gaṅgēyavamsa Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya Saṁvatsara (the year of the augmenting victorious rule of the Gaṅga Line), Pravarddhamāna Vijaya rājya saṁvatsara, (the year of the augmenting victorious rule) Vijaya rājya saṁvatsara, (the year of the victorious rule), Pravarddhamāna rājya saṁvatsara, (the year of the augmenting rule), Pravarddhamāna saṁvatsara, (the augmenting year), and Gaṅgēya vamsa saṁvatsara (the year of the Gaṅga Line), all appear. Though they appear in so many different forms we may take it that they all refer to an Era of the E. Gaṅgas called the Gaṅga Era. It is significant that while the Chalukyas of the Dekkan and the Kadambas and the Gangas of Mysore used the Sāka *Varsha*, the E. Gaṅgas adopted the Gaṅga *saṁvatsara* probably to emphasise the purity and the individuality of their Line. It is peculiarly noteworthy that of all the dynasties that ruled over various parts of India, this Dynasty alone preserved its individuality and independence for over nine long centuries i.e., from A.D. 500 to A. D. 1434. The Gaṅga Era, like the other Eras of the times, denotes the foundation independently of a powerful kingdom and in my view, the Gaṅgas became independent in Kalinga soon after the fall of the Gupta Empire at the close of the 5th century just like the Valabhis in Malwa, the Maukharis in Bihar and the Chalukyas in the Dekkan. At the time of Samudragupta's invasion, about 340 A.D. Kalinga was divided into several small divisions over which petty chiefs ruled. They were defeated by him but again restored to their places on their becoming tributary. So long as the Gupta Empire lasted, the situation must have remained the same but after its downfall, the E. Gaṅgas rose and asserted their independence and started in token of it, an Era of their own. The earliest kings did not refer to the Gaṅga Era. But Maharajah Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma and his son Maharajah Satyavarma were the first kings that expressly referred to the fifty-first year of the Ganga Era in their C.P. grants and this practice was continued by their successors. Hastivarma of 80 G. E. and Indravarma of 87 and 91 G. E. claimed, in their inscriptions, to have conquered the whole of Kalinga (Sakala Kalinga) and taken up the title of (Rajasiṁha) Lion of Kings and to have firmly established the Gaṅga Dynasty in Kalinga. Possibly, the Ganga king Indravarma who is the Donor of the Jirjingi plates of 39th year (G.E.) and who alone has the title of '*Trikalingādhipati*' among all the Early Gaṅga kings, might be the Founder of the Dynasty.

Unfortunately, the starting point of the Era has long remained a matter of discussion and doubt. In their Grants, the kings simply referred to the Gaṅga year and the *punya kālāms* such as solar and lunar eclipses, the Vishuva and the Uttarāyana Saṅkrāntis, the months, the *pakṣas* and the *tithis* but not to the names of years which alone would enable scholars

successfully to equate the Gaṅga year with the corresponding Christian or Śāka year.<sup>11</sup>

However, Scholars like Dr. Fleet depended upon the astronomical data, given only imperfectly in the Grants, though they also relied at the same time on Palaeography which is rather an uncertain hand-maid of history and on Synchronism which is suggested in Prithvimula's Godavari Plates. In editing Indravarma's C. P. Grant of the Gaṅga year 128 he stated thus<sup>12</sup>:— "It is possible that this king is identical with the *Adhiraja* Indra, who is mentioned in the Godavari Plates of Raja Prithvimula as combining with other chiefs and overthrowing a certain Indrabhattāraka who must be the E. Chalukya king of that name (A.D. 660) and that it is the period to which this and the two grants of 146 (it is really 138) and 91 may be allotted on palaeographical grounds and "on account of the use of numerical symbols in the date and the omission to specify the lunar fortnight of the month; and with this to start with, the mention of the eclipse of the moon may perhaps serve, on calculation, to determine the date of the grant exactly." Again, while noticing the grant of Devendravarman on p. 274, in the same volume, he wrote thus: "I have already suggested that, on historical as well as palaeographical grounds, Indravarma of 128 and 146 (138) may be referred to about Śāka 579 to 582 (A.D. 657—660). Taking 136 as the mean between the two certain dates of Indravarma and taking this as equivalent to Śāka 580, this would bring Devendravarman to about Śāka 696 (A.D. 774—775). And this is about the latest period to which, on palaeographical grounds, the grant of the year 254 can be referred".

Finally, however, while editing the Parlakimidi Plates<sup>13</sup> of Maharajah Indravarma of 91st year, he remarked that the Indra of the Chicacole grant of 128 year may be the grandson of the Indra of these Plates "and as regards the Era, it is Gangeya Era but *its epoch still remains to be determined*.....and it is possible that the Indra who defeated Indrabhattāraka may be this king in which case the lunar eclipse mentioned in the grant of 128 year should be looked to in the period 627—725 A.D. for its precise determination."

11 While noticing the C.P. grants of Indravarma, son of Dānarnava in S.I. Ep Report for 1913—1914, p. 71, Dr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai remarked that the particulars of time noted in the Grant would not be sufficient to fix up the regal period of the king in terms of Christian or Śāka years. Similarly, Dr. Hultsch while editing the C.P. grant of Devendravarman, son of Gunarnava wrote thus:—"Unfortunately neither of the two dates (noted in the grant) contains any elements which admit of verification and which might thus help to fix the initial point of Gangeya Era."

12 Ind. Ant. vol. XIII Pp, 119—122. 13 Ind. Ant. vol. XVI Pp. 131—134.



This last hint thrown out by Dr. Fleet was thoroughly examined by Mr. G. Rāmdos, B.A., who finally found<sup>14</sup> that none of the eclipses recorded in the Gaṅga plates fell during the period suggested by Dr. Fleet.

However, he put forward his own views based on historical and palaeographical grounds. Firstly, because Samudragupta conquered Kalinga in 349—350 A.D., he would have freed it from out of the hands of the Piṣṭapura kings who formerly ruled over it and granted it to the E. Gaṅgas who consequently called their Era, the Year of the Victorious rule, which therefore began in 349—350 A.D.

Secondly, comparing the alphabet of the plates of the E. Gaṅgas with that of the Gupta and Kalachuri grants, he came to the conclusion that the initial year of the Gaṅga Era should be placed between the years 349 A.D. and 350 A.D.

But both these arguments fall to the ground. It is impossible to believe that the Guptas would have allowed the Gaṅgas to found an Era of their own during the zenith of their power which lasted till the close of the 5th century A.D. It is equally unsafe to rely on the palaeographical comparison as it is not by itself a sure and safe handmaid of history.<sup>15</sup> Among the Gaṅga plates themselves, those of 51st year were considered to be later than those of the 254th year by a comparison of the characters only.

While Dr. Fleet stated that Indravarma of 87 and 91 G.E. should be considered as having fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the E. Chalukya Line who lived in A.D. 663. Dr. Kielhorn suggested that the same Gaṅga king should be considered as having fought with Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Vishnukunḍin Line. This suggestion was accepted by Dr. Dubreuil<sup>16</sup> who further stated that the Gaṅga Indra of 87 and 91 years might have surely fought with the Vishnukunḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka *in the beginning of the sixth century*. But he claimed the victory for the Vishnukunḍin king as against the express statement to the contrary contained in Prithvimula's Godavari Plates<sup>17</sup>. Prithvinula, son of Prabhākara, in his 25th regnal year issued an order from Kāndāli to the Rāshtrakuta chiefs of the District of Tālpāka granting the village of Chūyipāka situated amidst the four villages of Viḷendi, Renguta, Kamparu and Tukura. *The grant was made at the instance of King Indra, the conqueror of Indrabhaṭṭāraka.* Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the Donor of the Rāmatirtham grant who belonged to the

<sup>14</sup> J. B. O. R. S. vol. IX parts 3 and 4, Pp. 398—415. "*Chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga*"

<sup>15</sup> For a fuller discussion of the subject Vide my *Note on the Gangaya Era and the E. Ganga Chronology* published in J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II. Pt 2, Pp 153—164. It is found necessary now to revise it in some places owing to new Plates since discovered.

<sup>16</sup> *Ancient History of the Dekkan* pp. 76 and 91.

<sup>17</sup> J. P. M. Br. R. A. S., Vol 16, pp. 116.

Vishnukundin dynasty was the ruler of South Kalinga (Visag and Godavari Districts) and Vengi about the period AD 500-530. He is described in the Grant as having defeated in hundred thousands of battles several four-tusked elephants (Airāvatas of Indra). The Godavari plates also state that Indraraja, seated on his elephant *Supratika* and heading a powerful confederacy of princes struck down the elephant *Kumuda* on which Indrabhattāraka was seated. Now, *Supratika* is the name of the elephant of North-Eastern region and *Kumuda* is the name of the elephant of South-Western region. It is clear therefore that King Indravarma of N. E. region, i.e., North Kalinga defeated Indrabhattāraka of S. W. region, i.e., South Kalinga and Vengi. Probably South Kalinga formed the bone of contention between the two kings and ultimately king Indra of Gaṅga Line succeeded in wresting it from out of the Vishnukundin Kings's hands. Therefore only, the Chikkulla plates of his successor, Vikramēndravarma, mention Lendalur or modern Dendalur near Vēngi as the capital of the Vishnukundin dynasty, though the Ramatirtham plates mention Puranisangam in Visag Dt. as the Capital. Evidently, the Gaṅga king succeeded in pushing his Vishnukundin rival across the Godavari.

Since this Vishnukundin Indrabhattāraka ruled from AD. 500 to 530, it follows, according to the statements of Drs. Kielhorn and Dubreuil, that the Gaṅga Indra of 87 and 91 G. E. lived and ruled at the same time and so the Gaṅga Era would begin about 440 A.D. But this is not so. The discovery of five new inscriptions has thrown considerable new light on this difficult problem.

Of these, the Jirjingi Grant of Indravarma of 39 G. E. is the most important.<sup>18</sup> The king is termed *Trikalingādhipati* (Lord of the Three Kalingas), a title which is not met with in any of the Gaṅga grants upto the time of Vajrahasta (Śāka 960). The letters are box-headed and therefore belong to the beginning of the 6th century A. D. The king is also described as 'the victor in several battles of four-tusked elephants' and 'the thousand-fold Sun in the sky of pure Gaṅga family'. In my opinion, it is this king that is referred to in Prithvimula's Godavari Plates as having defeated the Vishnukundin Indrabhattāraka. If so, his 39th year would synchronise with AD. 530 or the *Gaṅga Era would begin about 490 A.D.*

The second important Grant is that of Madhukāmārṇava of G.E. 526.<sup>19</sup> Like his immediate successor Vajrahasta whose accession took place in S 960, he too granted some villages to Vaisyas. According to the genealogy and chronology contained in Vajrahasta's plates which are approved by all

<sup>18</sup> J.A.H.R.S., Vol III, part 1. pp. 49-53.

<sup>19</sup> C.P. No. 3 in the An. Report on S.I. Ep for 1918-1919.

scholars as historical and trustworthy unlike some of those contained in the Grants of his grandson Anantavarma Chōda Gaṅga,<sup>20</sup> Madhukāmārṇava ruled from AD 1019 to 1037. If the Madhukāmārṇava of G. E 526 is, as I have taken, the same as this king who ruled from AD. 1019 to 1037, then, *the Gaṅga Era would begin about 493 A.D.* assuming that the king made his grant in the first year of his accession.

The third important Grant is the Pulimburu C. P. grant of Mādhavavarma III.<sup>21</sup> It was discovered along with a C. P. grant of Jayasimha I<sup>22</sup> of the Eastern Chalukya Line who ruled from AD. 633 to 663 and who granted the same village of Pulimburu to the son of the donee of the Grant of Mādhavavarma. From this fact, it has been possible to fix the close of Mādhavavarma's rule as falling in the *beginning* of 7th century A.D. The importance of the grant lies in the fact that it was made while crossing the river Godavari *with a view to conquer the Eastern region, ie, Kalinga*. This shows that Kalinga which was under Vishṇukundin rule in the time of Indrabhaṭṭāraka passed into the hands of the E. Gaṅgas and hence the necessity of this invasion. The regnal periods of Indrabhaṭṭāraka and his Gaṅga contemporary Indra I of G.E. 39 could also be roughly fixed as falling in the first quarter of the 6th century A.D. From this, *it follows that the Gaṅga Era started about 490 A. D.*

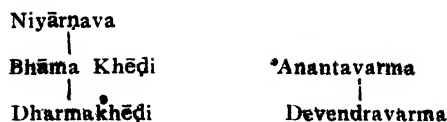
The fourth important inscription is the Simhapura Copper-plate Grant of the Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi of the Gaṅga-Kadamba year 520.<sup>23</sup> Dharmakheḍi is described as the Mahāmaṇḍalika of Dēvēndrabrahma (varma), son of Anantabrahma (varma) of the E. Gaṅga family. From his capital Jayantipura, in Mahēndrabhōga *vishaya* (Modern Mandasa Zamindari in Ganjam District) he ruled over five districts with the title of Mahēndrādhipati. (Lord of Mt. Mahendra). In Gaṅga-Kadambavamsā pravarddhamāna Vijayarājya Samvatsara Panchaśatavimsōttarē, 520, he granted the village of Dharmmapura in Mahēndrabhōga to two Vedic Brahmins. The Gaṅga-Kadamba Era may rightly be identified with the Gaṅga Era as the Kadambas were the feudatories of the Gaṅgas and as they referred in loyal terms to their Suzerains in all their grants. In this Grant, a short geneology of the Kadamba Donors and their Gaṅga Suzerains is given as follows:—

<sup>20</sup> Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> *Telugu Bharati* vol 7 No. 9 and vol 8 No 2, J.A.H.R.S. vol VI. part 1, pp 17-21

<sup>22</sup> J.A.H.R.S. Vol IV. parts I & II. pp. 72-76

<sup>23</sup> J.A.H.R.S. vol. III, Pp. 171-180. Mr. Satyanarayan Rajguru who published the grant has given a good account of the Kadambas but his view that *the beginnings of the Ganga Era were about the period 555-661 A.D.* is open to serious objection.



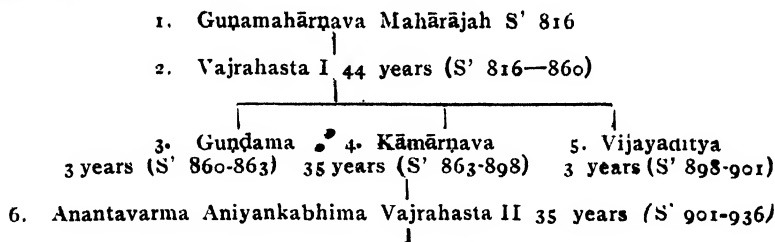
It appears from the above grant that Dharmakhēḍi of G.K. Era 520 lived in the reign of Devendravarma.

Lastly, from the fifth important inscription newly published<sup>24</sup> under the title of "The Mandasa Plates of Anantavarmadeva of Sāka 913," we get the following geneology of the Kadamba and the Gaṅga rulers:—



Dharmakhēḍi, the donor of this Grant has the same titles as those of the previous one and it is therefore clear that the G.K. year 520 which is the same as the Gaṅga year 520, corresponds to S'āka 913 or A.D. 991 approximately. In other words, the Gaṅga Era started about S' 393 or A. D. 471.

The following geneology and chronology, supplied by all the C. P. Grants of Anantavarma Vajrahasta III and several of Anantavarma Chōdagāṅga enable us in getting still nearer the starting point of the Gaṅga Era<sup>25</sup>:—

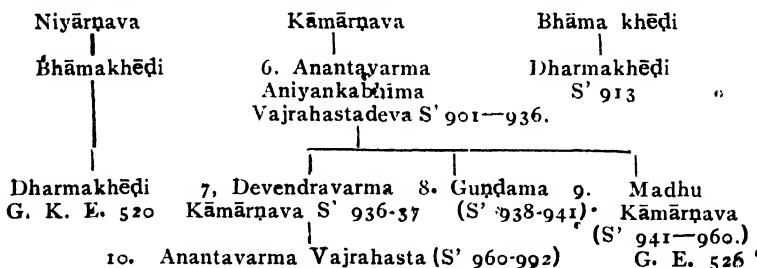


<sup>24</sup> J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVII, Pp 175—188. It was long before noticed in Ep. Report for 1917—18 where the date *Sakabde navasataka saptarasu* was interpreted as S 976. But Mr. G. Ramados who published the grant interprets it as S 913. Owing to the *Samasta* or *Anka* mode of reckoning adopted in a C. P. Grant for the first time here, I am inclined to accept this new interpretation of the date.

<sup>25</sup> In editing the Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta III, the veteran Andhra Scholar, Rao Saheb Prof. G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu stated thus:—"There are several discrepancies in the grant of Chōdagāṅga of S 1040 that make it suspicious. It does not mention Vajrahasta I. It makes Vajrahasta III, the son of Madhukamarnava while the present grant makes him the son of Kāmarnava and grandson of Vajrahasta II." Evidently, the names of the 6 or 7 kings mentioned as having ruled previous to Guṇamahārṇava faintly represent those of the Early Ganga Line. The same scholar identified, with great reason, Kālaganagara (which is identified by several scholars with the modern Kalingapattanam) with Mukhalingam—Nagarikatakam in Parla-Kimidi Zamindari. Vide 'E.I. vol. 4 p 187

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 7. Kāmārṇava $\frac{1}{2}$ year<br> <br>  S' 936-937          | 8. Guṇḍama<br> <br>  3 yrs. (S' 938-941) | 9. Madhukāmārṇava<br> <br>  19 years (S' 941-960) |
| 10. Anantavarṇa Vajrahasta III 33 years (accession in S' 960) |  |   |
| 11. Devendravarṇa Rājarāja 8 years (accession in S' 992)      |  |   |
| 12. Anantavarṇa Chōdagaṅga (accession in S' 999).             |  |   |

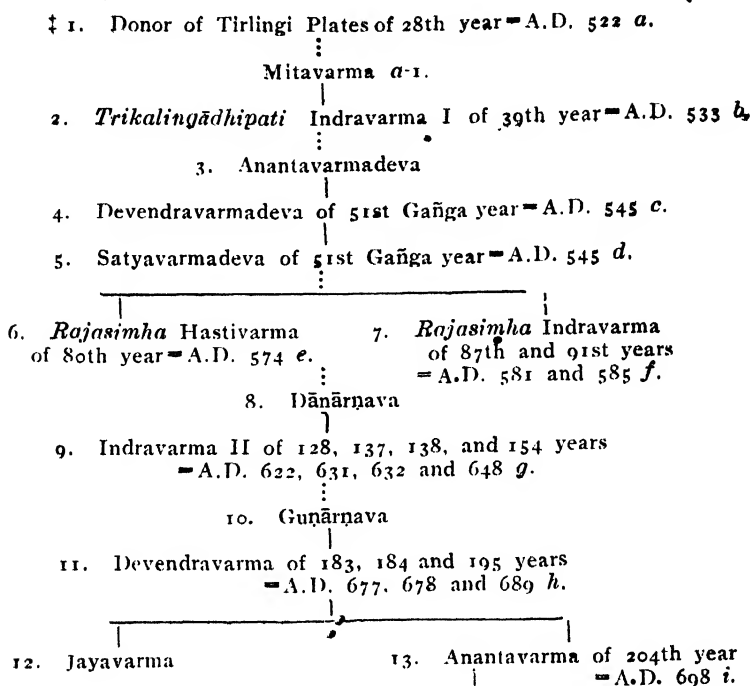
Dharmakhēdi, son of Bhāmakhēdi of the Mandasa Plates of the time of Anantavarṇa of S'. 913 appears to be identical with Dharmakhēdi, son of Bhāmakhēdi and grandson of Niyārṇava of the Simhapura Plates of Devendravarṇa dated in the Gaṅga-Kadamba Era 520. Since Anantavarṇa of the Plates is said to have been crowned in S'. 901, he must be identified with Anantavarṇa Aniyankabhima Vajrahastadeva (S' 901—S' 936), the 6th king of the geneological tree and Devendravarṇa of the Simhapura Plates with Kāmārṇava, the 7th king who is the eldest son of the 6th king and who ruled in S' 936. The titles Anantavarṇa and Devendravarṇa were apparently used for all the kings from Vajrahasta I to Chōdagaṅga, alternately. The 9th king of the Line, Madhukāmārṇava made a grant in 526 G. E. as noted already. Hence, the following Gaṅga-Kadamba Geneology and Chronology can be arranged from which we get the initial year of the Era in 494 A. D.

*Simhapura Plates.**Later Ganga Plates.**Mandasa Plates.*

Thus, Dharmakhēdi of S. 913 and G. K. year 520 lived in the reigns of 6. Anantavarṇa and 7. Devendravarṇa and so, his G. K. year 520 which is the same as the Gaṅga year 520 corresponds to S' 936. If so, the Gaṅga year 526 mentioned by 9. Madhukāmārṇava corresponds to S' 942 which exactly falls in his second regnal year. Hence, the initial year of the Gaṅga or Gaṅga-Kadamba Era falls in S' 416 or A. D. 494.

Taking the year A. D. 494 as the first year of the Gaṅga Era and considering that all the Early and the Later Gaṅgas belonged to the same Line and used the same Era till they gave it up for the Sākā Era at the close of the 10th century A. D. and considering also that the

geneology and chronology as given in all the published Grants of Vajra-hasta III and several of Anantavarma<sup>a</sup> Chōdagaṅga are correct and acceptable, we get the following geneological and chronological table for the whole of the Gaṅga Line:—



† The serial numbers show the order of the rule of kings. The sign | is used where a son is known to have succeeded the father and the sign ⋮ is used where the relationship is not mentioned. The dates are given both in the Gaṅga and the Saka years and the equivalent Christian years.

*a*. *J.A.H.R.S.* vol. 3 pp. 51-57

*a-1* *J.Bo.Br.R.A.S.* vol. 16 p. 116 *f*.

*b* *J.A.H.R.S.* vol. 3 pp. 49-53

*c* *Ind. Ant.* vols. 10 pp. 243-244 and 13 pp. 273-276

*d* *Ind. Ant.* vols. 10 pp. 243-244 and 14 pp. 10-14

*e* *Andhra Patrika Samvatsaradisanchikā* for 1920 pp. 217-224 and *Ep. Indica*. vol. 17 pp. 330-334

*f* *J.A.H.R.S.* vol. 4 pp. 21-24, *Ind. Ant.* vol. 16 pp. 131-134, *Ep. Ind.* vol. 8 pp. 127-130

*g* *Ind. Ant.* vol. 10 pp. 243-244 and vol. 13 pp. 119-124. Also *Ep. Ind.* vol. 14 p. 362, vol. 16 pp. 307-318, Appendix to *Kalingadesacharitra* pp. 40-41.

*h* *Ep. Ind.* vol. 8 pp. 130-134 vol. 13 p. 212 *J.A.H.R.S.* vol. 2, pp. 275-276,

*i* *J.A.H.R.S.* vol. 2 pp. 271-274 *S. I. Ep. Reports* for 1918-19 and 1920-1921

14. Nandavarma of 291st year = A.D. 715 *j*. 15. Devendravarma of 254th year = A.D. 748 *k*.
16. Rajendravarma
17. Anantavarma of 284 and 304 years = A.D. 778 and 798 *l*. 18. Devendravarma of 310 yrs. = A.D. 804 *m*.
19. Rajendravarma of 313 and 342 = A.D. 807 and 836 *n*.
20. Vajri or Vajrahasta
21. Mārasimha
22. Bhūpēndravarma
23. Devendravarma of 397th year = A.D. 891 *o*.
24. Guṇarṇava or Guṇamahārṇava *p*.  
A.D. 894
25. Vajrahasta I  
A.D. 894-938
26. Guṇḍama A.D. 938-941 27. Kāmārṇava A.D. 941-976 28. Vijayāditya. A.D. 976-979
29. Anantavarma Aniyankabhīma Vajrahasta II (accession in S' 901) *q*.  
A.D. 979-1014
30. Devendravarma Kāmārṇava 31. Guṇḍa 32. Madhukāmārṇava G.E. 526.  
G.E. 520. = A.D. 1014 \* A.D. 1015-1018 A.D. 1019-1037 *s*.
33. Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva III (accession in S 960)  
A.D. 1037-1070 *t*.
34. Devendravarma Rājārājadeva (accession in S 992)  
A.D. 1070-1077 *u*.
35. Anantavarma Chōdagaṅgadeva (accession in S 999) A.D. 1077 *v*.
- j* J.A.H.R.S. vol. 2 pp. 185-189 *k* Ind. Ant. vol. 18 pp. 143-146  
*l* Ep. Ind. vol. 3 pp. 17-21 S.I. Ep. Reports for 1918 pp. 137-138 and 1924 pp. 97-98  
*m* Ep. Ind. vol. 18 pp. 311-313. Ep. Carnataka, Bangalore vol. Insc No. 140.  
*n* J.B.O.R.S. vol. 12 p. 101 S.I. Ep. Reports for 1917-18 pp. 137-139 and  
1923-24 pp. 97-98. *o* J.A.H.R.S. vol. 2 pp. 146-164  
*p* The Table from this 24th king to the 35th king is arranged with the help  
of all the C.P. Grants of Vajrahasta II and three of Anantavarma Chodaganga.  
*q* Insc. No. 828 in S.I. Ep. Report for 1917, J.B.O.R.S. vol. 17 pp. 175-188  
Ep Ind. vol. 3 p. 200 and J.A.H.R.S. vol. 3 pp. 171-180  
*r* J.A.H.R.S. vol. 3 pp. 171-180 is C.P. No. 3 in S.I. Ep. Report for 1918-1919  
*t* Ep. Ind. vols. III pp. 222 II p. 183 IX p. 94 and XI p. 147. Also Appendix  
to Kalingadesacharitra pp. 50-58  
*u* C. P. No. 2 in S.I. Ep. Report for 1918-1919  
*v* J.A.H.R.S. vol. 1 pp. 40-48 and 106-124, Ind. Ant. vol. 18 pp. 161-167

## **NOTES AND NEWS.**

### **Mughal Bibliography.**

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., are to publish very shortly an annotated bibliography of books and manuscripts relating to the Mughals in India on Art, Science, Biography, History, Geography, Travels, Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Economics, Sports, &c. It is now being prepared and will be published early next year. Every effort is being made to make the bibliography as complete as possible. Authors desirous of having their works included in the Bibliography are requested to send particulars of their books or magazine articles to the Editor of the "Indian Literary Review", 190, Hornby Road, Bombay, as early as possible. The full title, author's name, number of pages and illustrations year and place of publication should be clearly mentioned. If possible a very short summary of the contents also should be given. If any persons or institutions happen to have any unique manuscript, full particulars of the same should be given.

### **Indian Historical Records Commission 1931.**

Owing to the prevailing financial stringency, the Government of India have decided to postpone the annual meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission this year. The next meeting of the Commission will, therefore, take place in 1932. The exact dates and the place of the meeting will be announced in due time.

### **Historical Records in the Satara Museum.**

The Secretary of the I. H. R. Commission informs that in the Historical Museum at Satara (Bombay Presidency), there are about four thousand English papers mostly of the time of Lord Macartney, who was Governor of Madras from the 22nd June 1781 to the 8th June 1785. These papers fall under three heads, viz., (i) letters written by Lord Macartney to his contemporaries, (ii) letters written to Lord Macartney and (iii) letters referring to Lord Macartney and his Government. Students of History interested in these documents should communicate direct with the Curator of the Museum, who is prepared to give them facilities for studying these records at Satara.

### **Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.**

#### **A REPLY BY THE EDITOR.**

Our attention has been drawn to the 'kindly criticism', as it is called, of our Journal, which appeared in the Journal of the Bombay



Historical Society, in the "Notes and News", pp 322—33; and we are much obliged for the valuable suggestions which the learned Editor has been pleased to offer us. We feel unable to appreciate the spirit with which the criticism seems to have been offered. The learned Editor may do well to remember the old English saying that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others. Our Contemporary has found such grievous errors in the printing of our Journal that it hastened to preach at once that, "the historian must always be accurate; and if accuracy is not found in a Journal of a historical research society, such society will not be counted for long among the learned societies of the scholarly world." We sincerely regret for the creeping of the several mistakes and feel obliged for the superciliousness with which the Editor of our contemporary has scanned them for our benefit. But, unfortunately, the same Journal of the Bombay Historical Society is not free from such errors as we have been accused of, and what is worse, it has been guilty of more grievous errors than those of ours. We shall take only a few random instances from the same number, which contains the criticism, to illustrate our point.

- |    |        |                       |  |
|----|--------|-----------------------|--|
| 1. | p. 300 | last line             | 'collectin the valuable historical records' <i>for</i><br>'collection of valuable historical records.' |
| 2. | p. 304 | line 10               | 'Hislory of Orissa' <i>for</i> 'History of Orissa'   |
| 3. | p. 304 | line 20               | sarighārāma <i>for</i> Saṁghārāma.   |
| 4. | p. 309 | line 14               | The official head-quarrers <i>for</i> 'The official<br>head-quarters.                                  |
| 5. | p. 309 | line 17               | Secretary general <i>for</i> Secretary-General.  |
| 6. | p. 309 | line 18               | Intellectual co-operation <i>for</i> Intellectual<br>Co-operation.                                     |
| 7. | p. 310 | last but<br>one line. | The main source .. are <i>for</i> The main<br>sources. ..are   |

We do not offer these instances in any spirit of retaliation. Yet we wish to remind the learned Editor how mistaken and inaccurate he was on another occasion. A colossal blunder was committed in the article, "Three Madras Museum Copper-plate Grants of Śaka 1544, 1565, and 1556." by B. A. Saletore, M. A., printed in pages 75 to 82 in volume II, No. 1., in the matter of printing the blocks of inscriptions, which doubtless might cause a painful surprise to the Editor of our contemporary. We noticed this long ago, but we refrained to comment because we knew that the Bombay Historical Society, though younger than ours, has been working with enthusiasm like ours and that such errors, however gross they might be, were pardonable. The photo-prints of the copper-plates given in that article do not represent the correct face of the writing on the plates, but the wrong side of it and therefore are quite useless to the epigraphist and the historian. Good money was wasted in making those photo-blocks and we offer our sympathy to the maker of the mistake. The Editor of our contemporary will kindly remember that it is bad policy to pick holes in another's coat, and permit us to remind him of the saying of the Lord Jesus (Vide Mathew: vii: 3—5). It would be proper for the learned Editor to take the beam out of his own eyes in the matter of editing and printing his Journal before endeavouring to remove the mote from his neighbour's eye.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL BODY MEETING HELD ON 4-4-31

### The Tenth Annual Report For 1930-31.

The Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. read the following report:—

The Managing Committee have great pleasure in presenting the following report of the Society's work done during the year 1930-31.

At the last Annual meeting of the Society held on 19-4-1930 under the Presidentship of M.R.Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., the Secretary's report and the Treasurer's accounts were presented and passed and then the following Office-Bearers were elected for the year.

- |   |   |                                      |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | M.R.Ry. J. Ramayya Pantulu garu, B.A., B.L., President.     |                                      |
| 2 | „ G. Gangadhara Somayajulu garu, M.A., B.L. Vice-President. |                                      |
| 3 | „ R. Subba Rao garu, M.A., L.T., Secretary.                 |                                      |
| 4 | „ N. Kameswararao garu, B.A., B.L., Treasurer.              |                                      |
| 5 | „ D. Venkatarao garu, M.A., L.T., Librarian.                |                                      |
| 6 | „ A. Sankararao garu, B.A., L.T.,                           | } Members of the<br>Managing Council |
| 7 | „ V. Jagannadharao garu, M.A., L.T.,                        |                                      |
| 8 | „ D. Sreeramamurty garu, B.A.,                              |                                      |
| 9 | „ B. V. Kristna Rao garu, B.A., B.L.,                       |                                      |

In the evening, a Public meeting was held in the Hindu Samaj Hall under the Chairmanship of Rao Sahib C. V. Kristnasami Iyer Avl., B.A., B.L., Dt. Judge, when Messrs J. Ramayya Pantulu and R. Subbarao read papers on '*the Mulkāpuram stone Inscription*' and '*Two New Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Vijayāditya Maharaja, of the Eastern Chālukya Dynasty*'.

### Members.

The number of ordinary members on 1...4...1931 stands at 242 as compared with 226 on 1...4...1930. There is an increase in the number of mofussil members. The Society lost in late Mr. G. G. Somayajulu, the Vice-President of the Society, a very valuable member and research scholar.

### Subscriptions.

As compared with the number of 29 Indian and Foreign subscribers on rolls on 1...4...30, there is at present the number of 40 which is distinctly encouraging and which shows the increasing popularity and usefulness of the Society.

### Patrons.

The Society lost, most unfortunately, in the deaths of Rao Bahadur D. Lakshminarayana of Kampte, and Sri Raja Ramachendradeb, Maharaja of Jeypore, two eminent and generous-minded Patrons of the Society. The Maharaja of Pithapur expressed his inability to continue as a Patron. The Society however, gained a new Patron in Sri Raja Gajapathi Ramachendra Deb. the Maharaja of Puri.

### Exchanges.

The list of exchanges has also increased from 72 to 80 showing that the work of the Society is widely appreciated.

### Journal.

During the year, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao continued to edit the Journal which has improved in get up and quality and foreign and Indian contributors have come forward to use its space. During the year, parts 3 & 4 of Vol. 4 and parts 1 & 2 of vol. 5 have been printed. Part 3 of Vol. 5 is under print and will issue soon. Several new C. P. Inscriptions of the Gaṅga, Chalukya and Vijayanagara Kings have been published. The Society's best thanks are due to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well as to the Contributors for improving the quality of the Journal.

### Kalingadesa Charitra.

At the time of the last annual meeting, 86 forms of the work (688 pages) were printed. But now the book is complete, the index being printed in this week. It numbers in all 830 pages (576 pages of book proper, 104 pages of supplement of inscriptions, 30 pages of contents and introduction and the rest index). The council takes this opportunity to place on record its heartiest thanks to all the Donors, and in particular to the Rajah of Parlakimidi and to Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., B.A., B.L., M.L.C., to the Contributors who have rendered valuable help to produce such a standard work and last but not least, to the Editor Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. and the Editorial Board for sparing no pains to bring out the work.

### Meetings and other Activities.

During the year, the Society held 9 Managing Council Meetings to transact the usual business of the Society such as passing of accounts and admitting new members and exchanges. The Society also arranged under its auspices a Public meeting on 19-1-1931, when Mr. C. S. Sreenivasachari M.A. Professor, Pachiappa's College, Madras delivered an interesting lecture on '*British Beginnings in Andhra Desa*' in the local Govt. Arts College Hall.

During the year, the Society deputed the Hon. Secretary, Mr. R. Subbarao, M.A., L.T., and Mr. M. Ramarao, B.A., (Hons.) a member

to attend the XIII Session of the I.H.R. Commission and the VI Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Patna, in December 1930. The Government of India in addition to re-nominating Mr. Chhabra as a Corresponding Member of the I.H.R.C. for another period of 3 years, co-opted him as a Member of the Patna Commission. The Secretary exhibited several Copper-plates, Coins, Photos of temples and stupas, and Original letters relating to the Correspondence between the Kandregula family and the Hon'ble East India Company, both at the Historical Records Exhibition held at Patna and the All-Asia Educational Exhibition held at Benares.

As a result of the Secretary's interview with Sir Frank Noyce at Gwalior last year, the Government of India have been pleased during the year to sanction the supply of 1. Archaeological Survey Reports 2. Memoirs 3. Epigraphical Reports of S. circle 4. S.I. Inscriptions and 5. other Government publications, *free of cost* to the Society. The local Municipal Council sanctioned Rs 100 for the Society's up-keep and the Local Government gave Rs. 400 towards library improvement. The Society's best thanks are, therefore, due to all of them.

#### Library and Museum,

The details of progress are given in the Librarian's report. The library contains now 591 Volumes, out of which number, books received this year amount to 192 including the 25 books purchased out of Govt. grant for 1929-1930. This year, the Government have again made a library grant of Rs. 400 in addition to the Municipal grant of Rs 100 and the whole amount will be spent in purchasing Indian Antiquary Journals.

The Museum has also received certain additions. The impressions of 2 more new C. P. Grants published in the Journal Vol. V, part 1, a piece of ancient sculpture depicting the hand of Siva, obtained from Dendalur, and some old copper coins of Kushan Kings, received in exchange of some Andhra Lead Coins have really enriched the Museum. All these were collected and presented to the Museum by the Secretary. The several photographs, taken in connection with the Kalinga Day Celebrations, have been framed and placed in the Society's Rooms. The photos of the Patrons and Donors are also placed in the Reading Room.

#### Finance.

The details are given in the Treasurer's Report. While the amount of subscriptions from Members has increased by a thousand rupees, that from the Patrons and Donors has decreased. The Society has still to pay the Treasurer Rs 200 while the Members are in arrears to the same extent. Unless the Government and the Public Bodies come to the rescue, the Society will have very bad times in future.

#### Conclusion.

In conclusion, the Council place on record their cordial thanks to all those Scholars who helped with contributions and requests them to bring more of their friends into the Society. It also offers its grateful thanks to all the Patrons and Donors who have helped it with liberal donations and requests them to continue the help, so that the Society may be able to do still more useful work in future.

**Treasurer's Statement of Receipts & Expenditure (from 1-4-50 to 31-3-51).**

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE	
Last year's Balance	380 13 10	Postage	225 14 09
Subscriptions from		Travelling Expenses	93 0 0
Members	... 1143 5 0	Printing	... 1073 10 0
Subscriptions from		Blocks & Photos	115 5 0
Subscribers	... 304 2 0	Furniture	... 70 0 0
Municipal grant	100 0 0	Purchase of books	26 5 0
Govt. Library grant	400 0 0	Binding books	30 0 0
Miscellaneous	7 0 0	Peon's pay	112 15 11
Sale of Journals	37 7 0	Stationary	4 7 0
Sale of Sanchikas	21 0 0	Room rent	200 0 0
Mis. Receipts	5 14 6	Typing charges	9 0 0
Advances by Treasurer	60 0 0	Permanent advance to	
		Secretary and Editor	
		for postage.	18 13 0
		Returned to Treasurer	60 0 0
		Mis. charges.	8 11 6
		Balance in S. B. A.	10 7 1
		Balance on hand.	401 0 7
	<hr/> Rs. 2459 10 4 <hr/>		<hr/> 2459 10 4 <hr/>

N. B.—5 copies of Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika have been sold during the year and 1 copy was given as a complimentary copy. The price of 1 copy sold has yet to be realised. The number of copies on hand on 31-3-51 is 118.

*The Stock of Journals is as follows:*

Vol V Pt 1; 184. Pt 2; 216. Vol IV Pts. 1 & 2; 180. Pts 3 & 4 193.  
 Vol III Pt 1, 96. Pts 2, 3, 4; 115. Vol II Pt 1; 81. Pt 2; 125.  
 Pts 3 & 4; 114. Vol I Pt 2; 32. Pt III 97. Pt IV 170.

This Statement represents the correct state of the accounts maintained by the Treasurer. Each item of expenditure is supported by a voucher.

(Sd.) M. VIVARAMA KRISHNAIYYA B.A.  
*Auditor.*

**Librarian's Report.**  
1930-31.

The number of books the Library contains today, including the bound volumes of journals, is 591.

Out of this number, books received and volumes registered in the year 1930-31, the year under review, number 192, including the 25 books purchased out of the Government Grant for the year 1929-30.

*An analysis of the additions in the year under review is as follows:—*

Books purchased out of Govt. grant	...	25
Books purchased out of the Society's funds	...	3
Exchanges received during the year	...	165
Books received and review	...	15
Books presented	...	13
Bound volumes & Society's publications added.	...	31
	Total	192

The Municipal Council have granted Rs. 100 and the Government have granted Rs. 400 for the year 1930-31; and this amount will be available for books for the coming year.

The number of visitors that availed themselves of the Reading Room was 330 as per the Visitor's Book.

Number of books taken home and used by members of the Society was 127.

Sufficiently extensive use of the library is not being made by the Public yet; and the location of the library in the present congested room which is not convenient for easy-reading in the evening time is perhaps a handicap.

The work of sorting and cataloguing the books of the library still remains to be done; and the librarian regrets that he could not devote himself to this task.

Lists of books and journals exchanged, presented, and received for review are appended to this report.

## RECEIPTS FOR THE QUARTER.

Members who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending  
with 31-3-31.

Perushottam Sonti	3	8	0	Paramanandacharya	3	8	0
Mitter Kalepada	3	8	0	Rangaswami Saraswati A.	3	8	0
Suryaprakasa Rao Ch.	3	8	0	Ramakrishna Rao D.	4	0	0
Narayana Sastri C. L.	7	0	0	Venkata Rao Ch.	3	0	0
Satyannarayana B. T. N.	3	8	0	Jaidat pant	3	8	0
Kibe M. V.	3	8	0	Srinivasaraghavachari M.K.	2	0	0
Raja of Puri (1926 to 31)	17	0	0	Thompson M. S. H.	3	12	0
Jaganatha Rao V.	2	0	0	Raghavachary N.	3	8	0
Krishnaswamy Iyer S.	4	0	0	Atmaram C.	3	0	0
Satyannarayana V.	2	0	0	Krishnamurti M.	2	0	0
Alchuta Rao T.	2	0	0	Bhadrappa P.	2	0	0
Sarma Sic B. N.	3	8	0	Brahmaje Rao K.	2	0	0
Ganganna Jayanti	4	0	0	Narayana D. L.	3	8	0
Hanumantha Rao C. V.	3	0	0				

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101 4 0

## Subscriptions received from Subscribers during the Quarter.

Iswara Library, Coconada.	6	8	0
Annamalai University for 5 Vols	32	8	0
Andhra University for 5 Vols	32	8	0
	Rs	71	0 0

## Donations received during the Quarter.

The Rajahmundry Municipal council	100	0	0
Library Grant by Government	400	0	0
	Rs	500	0 0







